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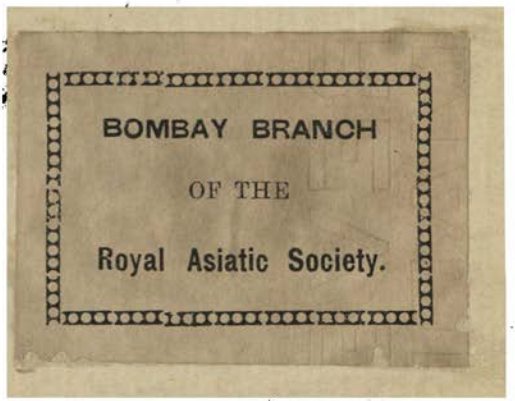

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

81606

GREECE,

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBÉ BARTHELEMI,

KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES,

And an eighth in Quarto, containing Maps, Plans, Views, and Coins, illustrative of the Geography and Antiquities of Ancient Greece.

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TRAVELS

IN

GREECE.

CHAP. LIX.

Tour of Attica. Agriculture. Mines of Sunium. Diſcourſe of Plato on the Formation of the World.

I HAD often paſſed a conſiderable time in different country houſes, and had frequently averſed Attica. I ſhall here collect the principal marks which I made during theſe excurſions.

The fields are ſeparated from each other by edges or by walls [a]. By a wiſe regulation obſerved in Attica, ſuch lands as are mortgaged for

[a] Lyſ. de Sacr. Oliv. p. 144. Demoſth. in Calliel. p. 1116 1117. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἀφῃρ.

the repayment of money are pointed out by ſmall columns bearing an inſcription which records the obligations contracted with a creditor. Similar columns placed before the houſes that are pledged in like manner make them known to every one [b], and the lender need be under no fear that he ſhould be injured by any ſecret contracts.

The poſſeſſor of a field may not dig a well, or build a houſe or wall, in it, except at a certain diſtance preſcribed by law, from the field of his neighbour [c]; neither is he permitted to turn the waters which deſcend from the hills that may ſurround his land over his neighbour's ground; but he may turn them into the public road [d], and the proprietors of the adjacent fields muſt defend their lands from them. In certain places the rain-water is received in canals which convey it to a great diſtance [e].

Apollodorus had a conſiderable eſtate near Eleuſis, to which he took me with him. The fields were covered with ripened corn, and ſlaves reaping it with the ſickle, while young children gathered the falling ears, and gave them to thoſe who bound them up in ſheaves [f].

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[b] Harpocr. in Ἄρκτοι. Id. Heſych. et Suid. in Ὄρος. Poll. lib. 3, cap. 9, § 85. Duport. in Theophr. Charact. cap. 10, p. 360.

[c] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 387.

[d] Demoſth. in Callicl. p. 1119.

[e] Id. ibid. p. 1118.

[f] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18, v. 555.

They had begun their work at the dawn of day [g], and the whole family ſhared in theſe rural labours [h]. In a corner of the field, beneath the ſhade of a great tree, ſome men were preparing the proviſions [i]; women were boiling lentils [k], and pouring meal into veſſels full of boiling water, for the dinner of the reapers [l], who animated each other to their labour by ſongs with which the fields reſounded.

> O bounteous Ceres! with indulgent ſmile,
> Survey and proſper this our ruſtic toil:
> Ye joyous reapers, clear the yellow plain,
> And to the north expoſe the ſwelling grain.
> The lark awakes, your ſharpen'd ſickles wield,
> Nor quit till he retires to reſt the field [m].

Other couplets expreſſed an envy of the happy condition of the frog, who has always plenty of drink; in others jokes were paſſed on the management of the inſpector of the ſlaves, and the workmen adviſed to tread the corn at noon, becauſe then the grain may more eaſily be ſeparated from the huſks in which it is encloſed [n].

The ſheaves, when conveyed to the threſhing-

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[g] Heſiod. Oper. v. 578.
[h] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 18, p. 1162.
[i] Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 10, v. 54.
[k] Theocr. ibid.
[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18, v. 555.
[m] Theocr. ibid.
[n] Id. ibid. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 350.

floor, are diſpoſed circularly and in layers. One of the labourers places himſelf in the middle of them, holding in one hand a whip, and in the other a bridle, with which he guides the oxen, horſes, or mules, which he makes walk, or trot, round him. Some of his companions turn the ſtraw, and place it under the feet of the animals, till it is entirely broken [n]; others throw handfuls into the air [o], when a briſk gale, which commonly riſes about that time, wafts the chaff to a little diſtance, while the grain falls directly down, and is gathered up and put into earthen veſſels [p].

Some months after, we again viſited the farm of Apollodorus. The vintagers were gathering the grapes from the vines which were ſupported by props [q]. Boys and girls filled wicker baſkets with them, and carried them to the wine-preſs [r]. Before they are preſſed ſome farmers cauſe vine-branches loaded with grapes to be brought home [s]. They expoſe them to the ſun for ten days, and keep them in the ſhade for five other days [t].

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[n] Homer. Iliad. lib. 20, v. 495. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1 p. 863.

[o] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 11, v. 127. Euſtath. ibid. p. 1675, lin. 50.

[p] Heſiod. Oper. v. 475 et 600. Procl. ibid.

[q] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18, v. 563.

[r] Id. ibid. v. 567. Euſtath. t. ii. p. 1163, lin. 45. Anacr. Od. 52.

[s] Anacr. Od. 50. Note de Mr. Dacier.

[t] Heſiod. Oper. v. 610. Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 7, v. 123.

Some keep their wine in caſks [w], others in leathern bottles [x], or in earthen veſſels [y].

While the vintage was preſſing, we heard with much pleaſure the ſongs of the wine-preſs [z]; for ſo they are called. We had alſo heard others during the dinner of the vintagers, and in the different intervals of the day, which were accompanied with dancing [a].

The harveſt [b] and the vintage [c] conclude with feſtivals, celebrated with all thoſe rapid emotions of mirth which plenty produces, and which are diverſified according to the nature of the object. Corn being conſidered as the benefaction of a goddeſs who has provided for our neceſſities, and wine as the gift of a god ſolicitous to increaſe our pleaſures, the gratitude manifeſted to Ceres exhibits itſelf in a lively but decently attempered joy, while that to Bacchus riots in all the tranſports of delirium.

Sacrifices are likewiſe offered at the time of ſowing and hay-harveſt. At the ſeaſon for gathering

[w] Anacr. Od. 52.
[x] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 9, v. 196.
[y] Id. ibid. v. 204. Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 6.
[z] Anacr. Od. 52. Oppian. de Venat. lib. 1, v. 127. Poll. lib. 4, cap. 7, § 55.
[a] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18, v. 572.
[b] Theocr. Idyll. 7, v. 32. Schol. in v. 1. Schol. Homer. in Iliad. 9. v. 530. Etymol. Magn. in Θαλύς. Diod. Sic. lib. 5, p. 336. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. Differt. 13, t. ii. p. 802. Meurſ. in Αλῶα et in Θαλύς.
[c] Theophr. Charact. cap. 3. Caſtellan. de Feſt. Græcor. in Dionyſ.

olives and other fruits they alſo preſent the firſt they gather on the altar, as gifts received from heaven. The Greeks have felt that on theſe occaſions the heart ſhould expand and gratefully pay homage to the authors of the benefits beſtowed on man.

Beſides theſe general feſtivals, each town and diſtrict of Attica has its particular ones, in which, though there is leſs magnificence, there is more mirth, for the inhabitants of the country are unacquainted with fictitious joy. Their whole ſoul manifeſts itſelf without diſguiſe in the ruſtic ſhows and innocent games which aſſemble them together. I have frequently ſeen a number of them collected round ſome leathern bottles filled with wine, and oiled on the outſide. Some young perſons hopped over theſe bottles, and by their frequent falls occaſioned loud laughter among the by-ſtanders [d]. Cloſe to theſe were children jumping after each other on one leg [e]; others playing at even or odd [f], and others at blind-man's-buff [g]. Sometimes a line drawn on the ground divided them into two parties, and they played at day or night *. The party which had loſt ran away, and

[d] Heſych. in Ἀσκωλ. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. lib. 10, p. 1646, lin. 21; lib. 14, p. 1769, lin. 47. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 1130. Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. cap. 30.

[e] Poll. lib. 9, cap. 7, § 121.

[f] Meurſ. de Lud. Græc. in Ἀφιδάς.

[g] Id. ibid. in Μυῖα.

* This game reſembled that of croſs or pile.

the others purſued them to overtake and make them priſoners [h]. Theſe amuſements are only in uſe among the children, in the city, but in the country grown perſons do not bluſh to join in them.

Euthymenes, one of our friends, had always relied for the management of his affairs in the country on the vigilance and fidelity of a ſlave whom he had placed over the others [i]. Convinced, at length, that the eye of a maſter is much more diſcerning than that of a ſteward [k], he determined to retire to his country-houſe, ſituated in the village or borough of Acharnæ, at the diſtance of ſixty ſtadia from Athens [l] *.

We paid him a viſit there ſome years after. His health, which had formerly been in a declining ſtate, was re-eſtabliſhed. His wife and children partook in and increaſed his happineſs. Our life, ſaid he to us, is active but not agitated; we are unacquainted with diſguſt or wearineſs, and we enjoy without alloy the felicity of the preſent moment.

He ſhewed us his houſe, which had not long been built. It fronted the ſouth that it might receive the warmth of the ſun in winter, and be defended from its heat in ſummer, when that lumi-

[h] Meurſ. de Lud. Græc. in Ὀστρακ.
[i] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 855.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 854.
[l] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 21.
* About two leagues and a quarter.

nary has attained his greateſt elevation [m]. The apartment of the women was ſeparated from that of the men by baths which prevented any communication between the ſlaves of different ſexes. Each room was adapted to the purpoſe for which it was deſigned. The corn was kept in a dry place, and the wine in a cool one. The furniture was not rich and ſumptuous, but the utmoſt neatneſs was every where conſpicuous. Garlands, and incenſe for ſacrifices, habits of ceremony for the feſtivals, armour and military dreſſes, garments for the different ſeaſons, kitchen utenſils, inſtruments to grind wheat, veſſels in which to knead dough, and proviſions for the whole year, and each month in particular, all were found with facility, becauſe all were in their proper places, and orderly arranged [n]. The inhabitants of the city, ſaid Euthymenes, would treat this methodical exactneſs with contempt; they are ignorant how much time is ſaved by it in looking for things, and that a huſbandman ought to be as great an œconomiſt of his time as of his money.

I have ſet over my houſe, added he, an intelligent and active woman. After having certified myſelf that her manners were unexceptionable, I gave her an exact inventory of all the things committed to her care. And how, ſaid I, do you re-

[m] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3, p. 777; lib. 5, p. 844.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 5, p. 843.

compence her ſervices? By eſteem and confidence, anſwered he. Since ſhe has been entruſted with every ſecret of our affairs, they have become her own [o]. We pay the ſame attention to thoſe of our ſlaves who ſhew zeal and fidelity in our ſervice. They have better ſhoes, and are better clothed. Theſe little diſtinctions render them ſenſible to honour [p], and retain them in their duty more effectually than the fear of puniſhment.

My wife and myſelf have divided between us the care and management of our affairs. She regulates all the houſehold concerns, and I inſpect whatever is done without doors [q]. I have undertaken to cultivate and improve the lands which I have inherited from my anceſtors. Laodice takes account of what is received and expended, and of the ſtoring and diſtribution of the corn, wine, oil, and fruits which are delivered to her care. She alſo maintains order among our domeſtics, ſending ſome to the field, and diſtributing to others wool, which ſhe teaches them to prepare and make into clothing [r]. Her example lightens their labours; and when they are ſick, her attentions and mine alleviate their ſufferings. We compaſſionate the condition of our ſlaves, and are ever ready to allow that they have numerous claims to our gratitude.

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[o] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 845.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 855 et 857.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 838.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 839, &c.

After having croſſed a court-yard full of fowls, ducks, and other domeſtic birds [s], we viſited the ſtables, ſheepfolds, and likewiſe the flower-garden; in which we ſaw ſucceſſively bloom narciſſuſes, hyacinths, iriſes, violets of different colours [t], roſes of various ſpecies [u], and all kinds of odoriferous plants [x]. You cannot be ſurpriſed, ſaid my friend, at the care with which I cultivate flowers: you know that with them we adorn the temples, altars, and ſtatues of our gods [y]; that we wear crowns of them at our entertainments, and the celebration of our ſacred rites; that we ſtrew them on our tables and our beds; and that we even offer to the divinities thoſe which we eſteem moſt grateful to them. A huſbandman beſides ought not to neglect the ſmalleſt profits. Every time I ſend wood, coal [z], fruits, or other commodities to the market of Athens, I always add to theſe ſome baſkets of flowers, which are ſure to find a ſpeedy ſale.

Euthymenes afterward conducted us to his farm, which was more than forty ſtadia in circuit [a] *, and from which he had obtained the preceding year above a thouſand medimni of barley, and

[s] Heſych. in Κόσκινοι.
[t] Athen. lib. 15, cap. 9, p. 683.
[u] Theophr. ap Athen. p. 682.
[x] Id. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 6, cap. 6, p. 643.
[y] Xenoph. Memor. p. 831.
[z] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 212.
[a] Demoſth. in Phœnip. p. 1023.
* About a league and a half.

eight hundred meaſures of wine[b]. He had ſix beaſts of burden, which every day carried to market wood and other commodities, and brought him in twelve drachmas daily[c] *. As he complained that inundations frequently carried away his crops, we aſked him why he had not removed to a part of the country leſs ſubject to ſuch accidents. Advantageous exchanges have often been propoſed to me, anſwered he, and you ſhall ſee why I have not accepted them. He immediately opened the door of a ſmall encloſure, in which we found a plat of graſs ſurrounded with cypreſs trees. Here, ſaid he, are the tombs of my family[d]. There, beneath thoſe poppies, I ſaw the grave dug in which the remains of my father are depoſited. By the ſide of it is that of my mother. I ſometimes come hither to converſe with them, and imagine that I ſee and hear them. No; never will I leave this ſacred ſpot. My ſon, ſaid he afterward, turning to a little boy who followed us, when I am dead lay me beſide my parents, and when you have the misfortune to loſe your mother, place her next to me. Remember it is my command. His ſon promiſed not to neglect what he had enjoined him, and burſt into tears.

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[b] Demoſth. in Phœnip. p. 1025.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 1023.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[d] Demoſth. in Callicl. p. 1117. Id. in Macart. p. 1040.

The borough of Acharnæ is full of vineyards [e], and the whole country of Attica covered with olive trees, which are more carefully cultivated there than any other kind of tree. Euthymenes had planted a great number of them, eſpecially along the roads which bordered his farm. He allowed the ſpace of nine feet between each, becauſe he knew that their roots will extend to a conſiderable diſtance [f]. No perſon is permitted to root up on his grounds more than two olive trees in a year, unleſs it be for ſome uſe authorized by religion. He who violates this law is condemned to pay for each tree a hundred drachmas to the informer, and another hundred to the public treaſury, a tenth of which is deducted for the treaſury of Minerva [g].

We frequently find cluſters of olive trees left in reſerve, and ſurrounded by a hedge. Theſe do not appertain to the owner of the field, but to the temple of the above-mentioned goddeſs. They are farmed out [h], and their produce is entirely ſet apart for the maintenance of her worſhip. If the proprietor of the land ſhould cut down a ſingle tree, even though it ſhould be only a barren trunk, he would be puniſhed with baniſhment and confiſcation of his goods. The Areopagus takes

[e] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 511.
[f] Xenoph. Memor. p. 865. Plut. in Sol. t. i. p. 91.
[g] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1039. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 391.
[h] Lyſ. in Areopag. p. 133.

cognizance of all offences relative to the different kinds of olive trees, and from time to time ſends inſpectors to watch over their preſervation [i].

Continuing our walk, we were paſſed by a numerous flock of ſheep, preceded and followed by dogs kept to drive away the wolves [k]. A covering of ſkin was wrapt round each ſheep. This practice, which has been borrowed from the Megareans [l], defends the wool from the filth which might otherwiſe defile it, and prevents it from being torn by the hedges. I know not whether it contributes to render the wool finer, but I can affirm that the wool of Attica is extremely fine [m]. I ſhould add likewiſe that the art of dying has there been brought to ſuch perfection, that the colours it gives to it are never effaced [n].

I learned on this occaſion that ſheep grow the fatter the more they drink, and that, to excite their thirſt, ſalt is often mixed with what they eat; and that, in ſummer eſpecially, a certain meaſure of it, that is a medimnus * for each hundred ſheep, is diſtributed among them every fifth day. I was

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[i] Lyſ. in Areopag. p. 136 et 143. Markl. Conject. ad cap. 7. Lyſ. p. 548, ad cal. edit. Taylor.

[k] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2, p. 757 et 759.

[l] Diogen. Laert. lib. 6, § 41.

[m] Varr. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 2, cap. 2. Plut. de Audit. t. ii. p. 42. Athen. lib. 5, p. 219.

[n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4, t. ii. p. 429.

* About four buſhels.

likewiſe told that when they are thus made to eat ſalt they give more milk [o].

At the foot of a ſmall eminence which bounded a meadow, we ſaw a number of bee-hives, ſurrounded with roſemary and broom. Obſerve, ſaid Euthymenes, with what induſtrious alacrity the bees execute the commands of their queen, for ſhe it is who, not ſuffering them to remain idle, ſends them into this beautiful meadow to collect the rich materials, the uſe of which ſhe regulates; ſhe it is who ſuperintends the conſtruction of the cells and the education of the young bees, which, when they are capable of providing for their ſubſiſtence, ſhe forms into a ſwarm [p], and obliges to leave their home under the conduct of a bee which ſhe has choſen *.

Farther on, between hills enriched with vineyards, we came to a plain where we ſaw yokes of oxen, ſome of which drew tumbrels of dung, while others, harneſſed to the plough, laborioufly traced the lengthened furrow [q]. I ſhall ſow barley here, ſaid Euthymenes, for that is the kind of grain which ſucceeds beſt in Attica [r]. The wheat we grow here affords indeed a bread very agreeable to the taſte, but it is leſs nutritive than that of Bœo-

[o] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 8, cap. 10, t. i. p. 906.
[p] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 837 et 839.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[q] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5, cap. 14.
[r] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 8, cap. 8, p. 947.

tia; and it has been more than once remarked that the Bœotian athletæ, while they reſide at Athens, conſume two fifths more of wheat than in their own country [s]; yet is that country contiguous to ours, ſo true is it that a little thing ſuffices to alter the influence of climate. As another proof of this, it may be remarked that the iſle of Salamis is cloſe to Attica, yet grain ripens there much ſooner than with us [t].

The diſcourſe of Euthymenes, and the objects by which I was ſurrounded, began to engage my attention. I already perceived that the ſcience of agriculture was not founded merely on blind cuſtom, but on a long ſeries of obſervations. It appears, ſaid our guide, that we formerly received the principles of this art from the Egyptians [u], and that we communicated them to the other nations of Greece, the greater part of whom, in gratitude for ſo great a benefit, bring us every year the firſt fruits of their harveſts [x]. I know that other Grecian cities make the ſame pretenſions with ourſelves [y], but to what purpoſe would it be to diſcuſs their claims? The moſt neceſſary arts have had their birth among the moſt ancient nations,

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[s] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 8, cap. 4, p. 932.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 3, p. 913.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 13, 14, 25; lib. 5, p. 336.
[x] Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 133. Juſtin. lib. 2, cap. 6.
[y] Goguet. Orig. des Lois, t. ii. p. 177.

and their origin is the more illuſtrious as it is more obſcure.

That of huſbandry, when tranſmitted to the Greeks, became improved by experience; and a number of writers have employed themſelves to collect its precepts. Several celebrated philoſophers, as Democritus, Archytas, and Epicharmus, have left us uſeful inſtructions on the ſubject of ruſtic labours [z], and many ages before them they had been ſung by Heſiod in one of his poems [a]: but a huſbandman ought not to abide ſo implicitly by their precepts as never to dare to interrogate nature and make new experiments. If then, replied I, I had a field to cultivate, it would not be ſufficient to conſult the authors you have mentioned? No, anſwered my friend; they give many excellent directions, but ſuch as are not ſuitable to every ſoil and every climate.

Let us ſuppoſe that you intended one day to exerciſe the noble profeſſion which I follow. I ſhould firſt endeavour to prove to you that all your care and all your time ſhould be devoted to the earth, and that the more you ſhall do for her the more ſhe will do for you [b]; for ſhe is only ſo beneficent becauſe ſhe is juſt [c].

[z] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 1, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 308. Varr. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 1, cap. 1. Colum. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 1, cap. 1.
[a] Heſiod. Oper. et Dies.
[b] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 868.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 832.

To

To this principle I ſhould add, ſometimes rules confirmed by the experience of ages, and ſometimes doubts which you might reſolve by your own obſervations or the knowledge of others. I ſhould ſay to you, for example: Chooſe a favourable ſituation [d]. Study the nature of ſoils, and the manures proper to each production [e]. Inform yourſelf when it may be neceſſary to mingle earths of different kinds [f], and when the earth ſhould be mixed with the dung [g], or the dung with the grain [h].

If the ſubject in queſtion were the cultivation of wheat in particular, I ſhould add: Redouble your labours. Do not commit to the earth the grain you have laſt reaped, but that of the preceding year [i]. Sow ſooner or later according to the temperature of the ſeaſon [k], thicker or thinner according as the earth is lighter or heavier [l], but always ſow equally [m]. Does your wheat run up too high, be careful to cut it, or turn in ſheep to browſe on it [n]; for the former of theſe methods is

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[d] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 3, cap. 1.
[e] Id. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 8, cap. 8, p. 946.
[f] Id. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 3, cap. 25.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 7.
[h] Id. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 7, cap. 5, p. 792.
[i] Id. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 8, cap. 11, p. 962. Plin. lib. 18, cap. 24, t. ii. p. 127. Geopon. lib. 2, cap. 16.
[k] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 861.
[l] Theophr. ibid. cap. 6, p. 939.
[m] Xenoph. ibid.
[n] Theophr. ibid. cap. 7, p. 942.

ſometimes dangerous: the grain becomes long and thin. Have you much ſtraw; only cut down half of it, and burn what remains on the ground; it will ſerve for manure [o]. Lay up your wheat in a dry place [p], and that it may keep a long time do not ſpread it, but heap it up, and even water it [q].

Euthymenes made ſeveral other remarks on the cultivation of wheat, and enlarged ſtill more on that of the vine. I ſhall give you his obſervations in his own words:

We muſt be particularly attentive to the nature of the young plant, the labours it requires, and the means of rendering it fruitful. A number of practices relative to theſe various objects, and frequently contradictory to each other, have been introduced in the different diſtricts of Greece.

Almoſt every where vines are ſupported with props [r]. They are only manured once in four years, or not ſo often; more frequent manurings would at laſt burn them up [s].

The attention of the vine-dreſſer is principally directed to the pruning; the object of which is to render the vine ſtronger, more fruitful, and longer lived [t].

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[o] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 862.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 844.
[q] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 4, cap. 15.
[r] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 866. Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 2, cap. 25.
[s] Theophr. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 13.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 19.

In a ground newly cleared, a young plant ſhould be pruned in the third year, but later in one that has been long cultivated [u]. With reſpect to the ſeaſon, ſome maintain that this operation ought to be early performed; becauſe inconveniences may reſult from pruning either in winter or in ſpring, ſince in the former caſe the wound cannot cloſe, and the eyes or buds are in danger of being dried up by the cold; and, in the latter, the ſap is exhauſted, and flows over the buds near the wound [x].

Others make diſtinctions according to the nature of the ſoil. They ſay that the vines in a thin and dry ground ſhould be pruned in autumn; thoſe in a cold and moiſt one, in ſpring; and thoſe in a ſoil neither too dry nor too moiſt, in winter. By theſe means the former would preſerve the ſap neceſſary to them, the ſecond loſe that which is ſuperfluous, and all would produce an excellent wine. One proof, ſay they, that in moiſt grounds pruning ſhould be deferred till the ſpring, and a part of the ſap ſuffered to flow off, is the cuſtom we have of ſowing in vineyards barley and beans, which abſorb the humidity of the ſoil, and prevent the vine from exhauſting itſelf in uſeleſs branches.

The vine-dreſſers are divided on another queſ-

[u] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 3, cap. 18.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 20.

tion [y]; whether vines ſhould be pruned long or ſhort. Some ſay this is to be determined by the nature of the plant or the ſoil; and others, that it depends on the quantity of ſap in the branches: if that is abundant, ſeveral very ſhort ſhoots ſhould be left, that the vine may produce more grapes; but if there is but little of it, fewer ſhoots ſhould be left, and the vine ſhould be pruned longer.

The vines which bear many branches and few grapes require that the ſhoots at the top ſhould be pruned long, and thoſe lower down ſhort; in order that the vine may be ſtrengthened at the root, and at the ſame time the branches at the top produce much fruit.

It is advantageous to prune young vines ſhort, that they may grow ſtronger; for vines which are pruned long, produce indeed more fruit, but ſooner die [z].

I ſhall not ſpeak of the different labours which the vine requires [a], nor of ſeveral practices, the utility of which is acknowledged. We frequently ſee the vine-dreſſers ſtrew a light duſt over the grapes, to defend them from the heat of the ſun, and for other reaſons which it would be too tedious to enumerate [b]. At other times we ſee them

[y] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 3, cap. 19.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 20.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 21.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 22.

pluck off ſome of the leaves, that the cluſters, being more expoſed to the ſun, may ripen ſooner [c].

Would you wiſh to reſtore youth to a vine nearly dead with old age; remove the earth on one ſide, and pick and clean the roots, applying to them different kinds of manure, and covering them with the earth. It will produce ſcarcely any fruit the firſt year, but, after three or four years, it will have regained its former vigour. If you afterwards perceive it begin to languiſh, again repeat the ſame operation on the other ſide, and theſe precautions, taken every ten years, will in ſome meaſure render your vine immortal [d].

To obtain grapes without ſtones, you muſt take a vine-ſhoot, and cut it lightly in the part which is to be ſet in the ground; take out the pith from this part, unite the two ſides ſeparated by the inciſion, cover them with wet paper, and plant it in the earth. The experiment will ſucceed better if the lower part, thus prepared, be put in a ſea-onion before it is planted. Other methods are known to produce the ſame effect [e].

Would you wiſh to have on the ſame vine both black and white grapes, or cluſters the berries of

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[c] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 866.

[d] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 4, cap. 15.

[e] Id. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 5, cap. 5. Democr. Geopon. lib. 4, cap. 7. Pallad. de Re Ruſtic. Febr. tit. 29. Colum. de Arbor. 9. Plin. lib. 17, cap. 21, t. ii. p. 74. Traité de la Vigne, t. i. p. 29.

which ſhall be ſome black and others white take a ſhoot of each kind, bruiſe them in their upper part, ſo that they may cloſely unite and incorporate, if I may ſo ſpeak, tie them together, and plant them.

We afterwards requeſted from Euthymenes ſome inſtructions concerning the different kinds of plants of the kitchen garden, and fruit-trees. The former, ſaid he, come up ſooner when we make uſe of ſeed which is two or three years old [g]. There are ſome which it is advantageous to water with ſalt water [h]. Cucumbers * are ſweeter when their ſeeds have been ſteeped in milk for two days [i]. They thrive better in grounds naturally a little moiſt, than in gardens where they are frequently watered [k]. Would you have them early; ſow them at firſt in pots, and water them with warm water [l]; but I muſt tell you that they will have leſs flavour than if they had been watered with cold water [m]. To render them large, care is taken, as ſoon as they begin to be formed, to cover them with a pot or veſſel, or to introduce them into a

[g] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 5, cap. 5.
[g] Ariſtot. Problem. § 20. Quæſt. 36, t. ii. p. 773.
[h] Theophr. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 7.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[i] Theophr. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 12. Id. Hiſtor. Plant. lib. 7, cap. 3. Pallad. in Mart. lib. 4, cap. 9. Colum. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 11, cap. 3. Plin. lib. 19, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 165.
[k] Ariſtot. Probl. t. ii. p. 776.
[l] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 5, cap. 6.
[m] Ariſtot. Probl. p. 775. Theophr. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 8.

kind of tube. To preſerve them a long time they ſhould be covered, and kept hung up in a well [n].

Trees ſhould be planted in autumn, or rather in the ſpring [o]. The trench ſhould be digged at leaſt a year before they are planted [p]. It is uſual to leave it a long time open, as if it were to be fecundated by the air [q]. The dimenſions of the trench are varied according as the ſoil is dry or moiſt. It is uſual to allow to it two feet and a half in depth, and two feet in breadth [r].

I only relate, ſaid Euthymenes, practices that are known and familiar to all cultivated nations; and which, replied I immediately, do not ſufficiently excite their admiration. What time, what reflection, muſt not have been neceſſary to obſerve and gain a knowledge of the wants, the varieties, and reſources of Nature; to render her docile, and diverſify or correct her productions! I was ſurpriſed at my arrival in Greece to ſee trees manured and pruned [s]; but how great was my admiration to find that the ſecret had been diſcovered to diminiſh the kernel of ſome fruits to increaſe the ſize of the pulp [t]; that other fruits, and

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[n] Ariſtot. Probl. p. 773. Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 5, cap. 6.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 3 et 4.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 5.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 18.
[r] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 864.
[s] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 3, cap. 2.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 18.

eſpecially pomegranates, had been made to grow larger on the tree by covering them with an earthen veſſel [u]; and that trees were compelled to bear fruits of different kinds [x], and be loaded with productions foreign to their nature!

This latter prodigy, ſaid Euthymenes, is effected by grafting, by which the roughneſs and fourneſs of the fruits of wild trees is corrected [y]. Almoſt all garden trees undergo this operation, which is ordinarily performed on trees of the ſame ſpecies; as, for example, a fig is grafted on another fig-tree, an apple on a pear-tree [z], &c.

Figs ripen ſooner when they have been punctured by gnats that come from the fruit of a wild fig-tree purpoſely planted near [a]. Yet thoſe which ripen naturally are preferred, and the dealers who ſell them in the market never fail to mention this difference

It is ſaid that pomegranates will be ſweeter when the tree is watered with cold water, and pigs-dung laid round the roots; that almonds have more flavour when nails are driven into the trunk of the tree, and the ſap ſuffered to flow out for ſome

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[u] Ariſtot. Probl. § 20, t. ii. p. 772.
[x] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 5, cap. 5.
[y] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 6 et 7.
[z] Ariſtot. de Plant. lib. 1, cap. 6, t. ii. p. 1016.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 1017. Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 2, cap. 12. Tournefort. Voyage du Levant, t. i. p. 338.
[b] Theophr. ibid. cap. 13.

time [c]; and that olive-trees do not thrive when they are more than three hundred ſtadia from the ſea [d] *. It is likewiſe ſaid that certain trees have a ſenſible influence on other trees; that olive-trees delight in the neighbourhood of wild pomegranates [e], and garden pomegranates in that of myrtles [f]. It is added, in fine, that the difference of ſex muſt be admitted in trees and plants [g]. This opinion was at firſt founded on the analogy which was imagined to exiſt between animals and the other productions of nature, and afterward confirmed by the obſervation that palm-trees do not bear fruit unleſs the females are fecundated by the down or duſt contained in the flower of the male [h]. This ſpecies of phænomenon muſt firſt have been obſerved in Egypt and the neighbouring countries; for in Greece the palm-trees raiſed for the ornament of gardens bear no dates, or at leaſt never bring them to perfect maturity

In general the fruits of Attica have a ſweetneſs not found in thoſe of the neighbouring countries [k], which advantage they owe leſs to the induſtry of

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[c] Ariſtot. de Plant. lib. 1, cap. 7, t. ii. p. 1017.
[d] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 6, cap. 2, p. 550.
* 11 1/3 leagues.
[e] Ariſtot. ibid. cap. 6, p. 1017.
[f] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 2, cap. 9, p. 243.
[g] Ariſtot. de Plant. lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 1011. Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 3, cap. 9, p. 146.
[h] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 2, p. 113.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 5, p. 124.
[k] Ariſtot. Problem. t. ii. p. 774.

the cultivator than the influence of the climate. We as yet are ignorant how far this influence will correct the fourneſs of thoſe beautiful fruits which hang on that citron-tree lately brought from Perſia to Athens[l].

Euthymenes ſpoke to us concerning ruſtic labours with pleaſure, and with tranſport on the delights of a country life.

One evening, when we were ſeated at table, before his houſe, under ſome ſuperb plane-trees, that arched over our heads, he ſaid to us: When I walk in my fields, all things ſmile and ſeem embelliſhed with new ornaments in my eyes. Theſe harveſts, trees, and plants, exiſt only for me, or rather for the neceſſitous whoſe wants I relieve. Sometimes I create to myſelf illuſions to heighten my enjoyments, and the earth then ſeems to accompany her benefactions with a ſpecies of delicacy, and announces her fruits by flowers, as among men benefits ought to be accompanied by the graces.

An emulation without rivalry forms the bond of the union between me and my neighbours. They frequently come and take their places around this table, which was never yet encircled but by my friends. Confidence and frankneſs reign at theſe repaſts; we communicate to each other our diſcoveries, for, unlike to other artiſts who have ſecrets[m],

[l] Antiphon. ap. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 7, p. 84. Salmaſ. Exercit. in Plin. p. 956.

[m] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 858.

each is only emulous to inform himſelf and inſtruct his friends.

Then, addreſſing himſelf to ſome inhabitants of the city of Athens, who had that moment arrived, he added: You imagine yourſelves free within the encloſure of your walls, but that independence which the laws grant to you is inceſſantly torn from you by the tyranny of ſociety. Have you not employments to intrigue for and to diſcharge, powerful men to ſooth and flatter, ſecret miſchiefs to foreſee and to ſhun, and duties of ceremony more rigorous than thoſe of nature to fulfil? Are you not compelled to a continual reſtraint in your dreſs, demeanour, actions, and words; to endure the inſupportable preſſure of idleneſs, and the tedious perſecutions of the importunate? There is no kind of ſlavery by which you are not held in bondage.

Your feſtivals are ſo magnificent, and ours ſo mirthful! your pleaſures ſo ſuperficial and ſo tranſient, and ours ſo real and ſo conſtant! Can the dignities of the republic afford any functions more noble than the exerciſe of an art, without which induſtry and commerce muſt alike decline[n]?

Have you ever, in your rich apartments, breathed an air ſo freſh as that we reſpire in this

[n] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 832.

verdant arbour? or can your entertainments, ſometimes ſo ſumptuous, compare with the bowls of milk which we have juſt drawn, and thoſe delicious fruits which we have gathered with our own hands? And what a reliſh do we acquire to our repaſts from labours, which it is ſo pleaſing to undertake even in the froſts of winter, and the heats of ſummer[o]; and from which it is ſo delightful to reſt, ſometimes amid the thick woods fanned by the breath of zephyrs, and reclining on a turf which invites to ſleep; and ſometimes near a ſparkling fire[p] fed by the trunks of trees which I have felled on my own grounds, ſurrounded by my wife and children, objects ever new of the moſt tender love, in defiance of the impetuous winds which howl around my cottage without being able to diſturb its tranquillity!

Ah! if happineſs be only the health of the ſoul, muſt it not be found in thoſe places where a juſt proportion ever reigns between our wants and our deſires, where motion is conſtantly followed by reſt, and where our affections are always accompanied by tranquillity?

We had frequent converſations with Euthymenes, and on one occaſion mentioned to him that Xenophon, in ſome of his writings[q], had propoſed

[o] Zenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 831.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 832.
[q] Id. Hier. p. 916.

to grant to thoſe who ſhould beſt cultivate their lands, not rewards in money, but certain honourable diſtinctions. That expedient, anſwered he, might tend to the encouragement of agriculture; but the republic is ſo occupied in diſtributing favours to idle and powerful men, that it cannot beſtow a thought on uſeful and obſcure citizens.

Having left Acharnæ, we continued our journey toward Bœotia. On our way we ſaw ſeveral caſtles ſurrounded with thick walls and lofty towers, ſuch as thoſe of Phyle, Decelia, and Rhamnus. The frontiers of Attica are defended on every ſide by theſe fortreſſes, and the country people are directed to take refuge in them in caſe of an invaſion [r].

Rhamnus is ſituated near the ſea. On a neighbouring eminence ſtands the temple of the implacable Nemeſis, the goddeſs of vengeance. Her ſtatue, which is ten cubits high *, is by the hand of Phidias, and of moſt beautiful workmanſhip. That artiſt ſculptured it from a block of Parian marble, which the Perſians had brought to this place to erect a trophy. Phidias has not inſcribed on it his own name, but that of his pupil Agoracritus, whom he extremely loved [s].

[r] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 312. Id. de Cor. p. 479.

* About 14½ feet.

[s] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 32, p. 80. Plin. lib. 36, cap. 5, p. 725. Suid. et Heſych. in Ῥαμν. Meurſ. de Popul. Attic. in Ῥαμν.

From Rhamnus we went to the town of Marathon, the inhabitants of which were eager to relate to us the principal circumſtances of the victory which the Athenians, under the conduct of Miltiades, had formerly gained there over the Perſians. This celebrated event has left ſuch an impreſſion on their minds, that they imagine they hear, during the night, the cries of the combatants, and the neighing of horſes [t]. They ſhewed us the tombs of the Greeks who fell in the battle: theſe are ſmall columns, on which their names only have been inſcribed. We proſtrated ourſelves before that which the Athenians conſecrated to the memory of Miltiades, after having ſuffered him to expire in a dungeon: it is only diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by being erected at a ſmall diſtance from them [u].

As we approached Brauron, the air reſounded with joyful ſhouts. The inhabitants of that town were celebrating the feſtival of Diana their tutelary goddeſs [x]. Her ſtatue appeared to us to be of great antiquity; and we were told that it was the ſame which Iphigenia brought from Taurica [y]. All the Athenian maidens muſt be conſecrated to this god-

[t] Pauſan. lib. i. cap. 32, p. 79.
[u] Id. ibid.
[x] Meurſ. de Popul. Attic. in Βραυρ. Id. in Græc. Fer. Caſtell. de Feſt. Græc.
[y] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 23, p. 55; et cap. 33, p. 80.

deſs, after they have attained their fifth, and before they have paſſed their tenth year [z]. A great number of them, brought by their parents, and having at their head the young prieſteſs of Diana [a], are preſent at theſe ceremonies, which they embelliſh by their preſence, and during which rhapſodiſts ſing portions of the Iliad [b]. As a conſequence of their being thus devoted, they come before marriage to offer ſacrifices to this goddeſs [c].

We were preſſed to wait ſome days, that we might be preſent at a feſtival, which is repeated every fifth year [d] in honour of Bacchus, and which, as it is reſorted to by the greater part of the courteſans of Athens, is celebrated with equal ſplendour and licentiouſneſs [e]; but as the deſcription given us of it only excited our diſguſt, we proceeded to viſit the quarries of Mount Pentelicus, which produce that beautiful white marble ſo famous throughout Greece, and on which the chiſels of able ſculptors have ſo often been employed [f]. It ſeems as if Nature had taken a pleaſure in multi-

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[z] Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſtr. v. 644. Schol. ibid. Harpocr. et Heſych. in Αρκ. et in Δεκ.

[a] Dinarch. in Ariſtogit. p. 106. Demoſth. in Conon. p. 1112.

[b] Heſych. in Βραυρ.

[c] Suid. in Αρκ.

[d] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 107.

[e] Suid. in Βραυρ. Schol. in Demoſth. Orat. adv. Conon. p. 1415.

[f] Theophr. de Lapid. § 14. Strab. lib. 9, p. 399. Athen. lib. 13, cap. 6, p. 591. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 32, p. 78; lib. 5, cap. 10, p. 398; lib. 8, cap. 28, p. 658, &c.

plying in the ſame place great men, great artiſts, and the materials moſt proper to preſerve the memory of each. Mount Hymettus [g], and other mountains of Attica [h], contain within them ſimilar quarries.

We went to ſleep at Praſiæ, a ſmall town ſituated near the ſea. Its port, named Panormus, is a ſafe and commodious harbour: it is ſurrounded with valleys and delightful hills, which, from the very ſea ſhore, riſe in the form of an amphitheatre, and end in mountains covered with pines and various kinds of trees [i].

Proceeding onward, we entered a beautiful plain, which makes part of a diſtrict named Paralos* [k]. It is bordered on each ſide by a range of hills, the ſummits of which, rounded and ſeparated from each other, ſeem rather to be the work of art than of nature [l]. This plain conducted us to Thoricos, a ſtrong place ſituated on the ſea-coaſt [m]; and how great was our joy to learn that Plato was in the neighbourhood, at the houſe of Theophilus, one of his oldeſt friends, who had long preſſed him to viſit his country ſeat. Several

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[g] Strab. lib. 9, p. 399. Plin. lib. 17, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 48; lib. 36, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 724, et cap. 15, p. 744. Horat. lib. 2, od. 18.
[h] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 920. Liv. lib. 31, cap. 26.
[i] Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 157.
* That is to ſay, *Maritime*.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 55.
[l] Wheeler's Journey, p. 447. Voyag. MSS.
[m] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 928.

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of his diſciples had accompanied him to theſe ſolitary places. I know not what tender intereſt the ſurpriſe occaſioned by theſe fortuitous meetings inſpires, but our interview ſeemed to have the air of a dramatic diſcovery, and Theophilus prolonged the pleaſure of it by detaining us at his houſe.

The next day, at a very early hour, we repaired to Mount Laurium, where are the ſilver mines that have been worked from time immemorial [n]. They are ſo rich, that the veins of metal ſeem to have no end [o]; and a much greater number of pits might be ſunk, if ſuch undertakings did not require conſiderable ſums. Beſides the purchaſing of inſtruments, and the erecting of houſes and furnaces, it is neceſſary to have a great number of ſlaves, the price of which continually varies. According as they are ſtronger or weaker, older or younger, they coſt from three to ſix hundred drachmas *, and ſometimes more [p]. When the adventurers are not rich enough to purchaſe them, they contract for them with thoſe citizens who have a great number of them, to whom they pay an obolus a day for each ſlave †.

Every individual who, on his own account or at the head of a company, undertakes to make

[n] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 924.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 927.
* From 270 to 540 livres (from 11l. 5s. to 22l. 10s.)
[p] Demoſth. in Aphob. 1, p. 896.
† Three ſols (three halfpence).

new researches, must purchase a permission, which can only be granted by the republic [q]. He must address himself to the magistrates who have the direction of the department of the mines. If his proposal is accepted, it is entered in a register, and he is required to pay, besides the premium for his privilege, one twenty-fourth part of his profits to the republic [r]; and if he does not fulfil his engagements, the grant reverts to the treasury, by which it is put up to auction [s].

Formerly the sums arising from the sale of the privileges or the eventual profits of the mines, were distributed to the people. Themistocles induced the general assembly to enact that they should be appropriated to the building of ships [t]. This resource supported the Athenian navy during the Peloponnesian war. Individuals were then seen to acquire considerable wealth by the mines. Nicias, so unfortunately rendered famous by the expedition into Sicily, let out to an adventurer a thousand slaves, for whom he received a thousand oboli, or $166\frac{2}{3}$ drachmas, a day *. Hipponicus at the same time had six hundred, which he let out in like manner for six hundred oboli, or a hun-

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[q] Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 992.
[r] Suid. in Ἀγοράφ.
[s] Demosth. in Phœnip. p. 1022.
[t] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 113.
* 150 livres (6l. 5s.)

dred drachmas* [u]. According to this calculation, Xenophon propoſed to government to engage in the commerce of the ſlaves to work the mines. For a beginning, it might have been ſufficient to have purchaſed twelve hundred, and ſucceſſively to have augmented the number to ten thouſand, which would have produced to the ſtate the annual profit of a hundred talents [x] †.

This project, which might have excited the emulation of thoſe who undertook the working of the mines, was not carried into execution; and, toward the end of this war, it was perceived that the mines produced leſs than they had formerly done.

Various accidents may diſappoint the hopes of the ſpeculators; and I have known many who have ruined themſelves for want of property, or a ſufficient knowledge of the buſineſs they had undertaken [z]. The laws however have omitted nothing which may tend to their encouragement. The income from the mines is not reckoned among the property which obliges a citizen to contribute to the expences of the ſtate [a]. Puniſhments are denounced againſt thoſe who ſhall ob-

* 90 livres (3l. 15s.)
[u] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 925.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 926.
† 540,000 livres (22,500l.)
[y] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3, p. 773
[z] Demoſth. in Phœnip. p. 1022 et 1025.
[a] Id. ibid.

ſtruct any privileged perſon in the working of his part of the mines, either by carrying away his machines and inſtruments, ſetting fire to the timbers and ſtays made uſe of under ground [b], or by encroaching on his limits, for the grants made to each individual are circumſcribed by boundaries which it is not permitted to paſs [c].

We entered theſe damp and unhealthy places [d], and witneſſed what labour it coſts to tear from the bowels of the earth thoſe metals which are deſtined only to be diſcovered, and even poſſeſſed, by ſlaves.

On the ſides of the mountain, near the pits [e], are conſtructed forges and furnaces [f], to which the ore is carried, to ſeparate the ſilver from the other ſubſtances with which it is mixed. It is frequently found united to a ſandy, red and ſhining ſubſtance, from which has lately been obtained, for the firſt time, the artificial cinnabar [g] *.

The traveller through Attica muſt be ſtruck with the contraſt preſented by the two claſſes of workmen whoſe labours are employed on the earth. The one, without fear and unexpoſed to danger,

[b] Poll. lib. 7, cap. 23, § 98. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 543.
[c] Demoſth. in Pantæn. p. 992.
[d] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3, p. 773.
[e] Vitruv. lib. 7, cap. 7.
[f] Demoſth. ibid. p. 998. Suid. Harpocr. et Phot. Lex. Man. in Κεῖρ.
[g] Theophraſt. de Lapid. § 104. Plin. lib. 33, cap. 7, t. ii. p. 624. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 262.
* This diſcovery was made about the year 405 before Chriſt.

gather on the ſurface the corn, wine, oil, and other fruits, in which they are permitted to participate. They are in general well fed and well clothed; they have their moments of pleaſure, and in the midſt of their toil breathe a free air, and enjoy the ſplendour of heaven. The other, buried in quarries of marble or mines of ſilver, continually in danger of ſeeing the tomb cloſe over their heads, are only guided in their inceſſant labours by dim and funereal lights, and are perpetually ſurrounded by a groſs and frequently deadly atmoſphere. Unfortunate ſpectres, to whom no feeling remains but that of their ſufferings, nor ſtrength but what muſt be employed to augment the pride and pomp of their maſters who tyrannize over them! From this compariſon we may judge which are the true riches that nature deſigned for man.

We had not informed Plato of our journey to the mines. He wiſhed to accompany us to Cape Sunium, diſtant from Athens about three hundred and thirty ſtadia [h] *. On it ſtands a ſuperb temple conſecrated to Minerva, of white marble, and of the Doric order, ſurrounded by a periſtyle, and having, like that of Theſeus, to which it reſembles in its general diſpoſition, ſix columns in front, and thirteen on the ſides [i].

[h] Strabo, lib. 9, p. 390.
* About twelve leagues and a half.
[i] Le Roi Ruines de la Grèce, part. i. p. 24.

From the ſummit of the promontory is ſeen, at the foot of the mountain, the harbour and town of Sunium, which is one of the fortreſſes of Attica [k]. But a grander ſcene excited our admiration. Sometimes we permitted our eyes to wander over the vaſt plains of the ſea, and at length to repoſe on the proſpects preſented by the neighbouring iſlands. Sometimes pleaſing recollections ſeemed to bring nearer to us the iſles which eſcaped our ſight. We ſaid: On that ſide of the horizon is Tenos, in which we find ſuch fertile valleys; and Delos, where ſuch delightful feſtivals are celebrated. Alexis ſaid to me, in a whiſper: There is Ceos, where I ſaw Glycera for the firſt time. Philoxenus ſhewed me, with a ſigh, the iſland which bears the name of Helen; in which, ten years before, he had with his own hands erected, amid myrtles and cypreſſes, a monument to the affectionate Coronis, and whither for ten years he had reſorted, on certain days, to ſprinkle with his tears her cold aſhes, ſtill dear to his heart. Plato, on whom great and ſublime objects had always made a ſtrong impreſſion, ſeemed to have fixed his whole attention on the gulphs which nature has excavated to receive the waters of the ocean.

In the mean time the horizon began to be overclouded at a diſtance with hot and gloomy va-

[k] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 479. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 2.

pours; the ſun grew dim, and the ſmooth and motionleſs ſurface of the waters aſſumed a melancholy hue, the tints of which inceſſantly varied. Already the heavens, ſhut in on every ſide, only preſented to our view a dark vault, from which iſſued ſtreams of flame. All nature appeared to be in ſilent and fearful expectation, and in a ſtate of inquietude, which communicated itſelf to the inmoſt receſſes of our ſouls. We ſought an aſylum in the veſtibule of the temple, and quickly the thunder, with redoubled peals, broke the barrier of darkneſs and fire ſuſpended over our heads, thick clouds rolled their heavy maſſes through the air, and deſcended in torrents on the earth, while the winds, unchained, ruſhed impetuouſly on the ſea, and upturned its enormous billows. The united roarings of the thunder, the winds, the waves, and the re-echoing caverns and mountains, produced a dreadful ſound, which ſeemed to proclaim the approaching diſſolution of the univerſe. At length, the north wind having redoubled its efforts, the ſtorm departed, to carry its rage into the burning climates of Africa. We followed it with our eyes, and heard it howl at a diſtance, while with us the ſky again ſhone with a purer ſplendour, and that ſea, which had ſo lately daſhed its foaming ſurges to the clouds, now ſcarcely impelled its languid waves to the ſhore.

At the ſight of ſo many unexpected and rapid

changes, we remained for ſome time motionleſs and mute; but they quickly reminded us of thoſe doubts and queſtions which have exerciſed the curioſity of mankind for ſuch a number of ages. Why theſe ſeeming errors and revolutions in nature? Are they to be attributed to chance? But whence then is it that the cloſe-connected chain of beings, though a thouſand times on the very verge of being broken, is yet perpetually preſerved? Are tempeſts excited and appeaſed by an intelligent cauſe? But what end does that cauſe propoſe in them, and whence is it that he darts his lightnings on the deſert, while he ſpares the nations whoſe guilt loudly calls for his vengeance? From theſe enquiries we proceeded to the exiſtence of the gods, the reduction of chaos to form and order, and the origin of the univerſe. Wandering and loſt in the mazes of theſe ideas, we conjured Plato to guide us to the truth. He was abſorbed in profound meditation; it ſeemed as if the terrible and majeſtic voice of nature ſtill reſounded in his ears. At length, overcome by our entreaties, and the truths which he revolved in his labouring mind, he ſeated himſelf on a ruſtic ſeat, and having placed us by his ſide *, began his diſcourſe as follows:

Feeble mortals that we are[1]! is it for us to pe-

* See Plate, No. 28.

[1] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 29.

netrate the ſecrets of the Divinity; for us, the wiſeſt of whom is to the Supreme Being only what an ape is to us [m]? Proſtrate at his feet, I entreat him to inſpire me with ſuch ideas and ſuch language as ſhall be pleaſing to him, and ſhall appear to you conformable to reaſon [n].

If I were obliged to explain myſelf in the preſence of the multitude concerning the firſt Author of all things, the origin of the univerſe, and the cauſe of evil, I ſhould be compelled to ſpeak in enigmas [o]; but in theſe ſolitary places, where I am only heard by God and my friends, I ſhall have the ſatisfaction of rendering homage to truth.

The God which I declare unto you is a God, ſingle, immutable, and infinite [p], the centre of all perfections, and the inexhauſtible ſource of intelligence and being [q]. Before he had created the univerſe, before he had externally diſplayed his power, he was, for he had no beginning [r]; he was in himſelf, he exiſted in the profundity of eternity. No; my expreſſions do not correſpond to the elevation of my ideas, nor my ideas to the ſublimity of my ſubject.

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[m] Heracl. ap. Plat. in Hipp. Major. t. iii. p. 289.

[n] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 27.

[o] Id. Epiſt. 2, ad Dionyſ. t. iii. p. 312. Id. in Tim. t. iii. p. 28.

[p] Id. in Phædon. t. i. p. 78, &c.

[q] Id. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 396.

[r] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. in Tim. paſſim. Id. in Phædon. t. i. p. 78.

Matter, equally eternal, ſubſiſted in a fearful fermentation, containing within itſelf the germs of all evils, and agitated by impetuous motions, which ſought to unite its parts, and deſtructive principles, which inſtantly ſeparated them; ſuſceptible of every form, but incapable of retaining any, horror and diſcord wandered over its tumultuous waves[s]. The dreadful confuſion which you have ſo lately ſeen in nature, was but a feeble image of that which reigned in chaos.

From all eternity, God, by his infinite goodneſs, had decreed to create the univerſe, according to the model ever preſent to his eyes [t]; a model immutable, increated, and perfect; an idea like to that which an artiſt conceives when he converts rude ſtone into a ſuperb edifice; an intellectual world of which the viſible is only the copy and the expreſſion [u]. Whatever in the univerſe is the object of our ſenſes, and all that eſcapes their activity, was traced in a ſublime manner in the firſt plan; and as the Supreme Being conceives nothing but what is real, it may be ſaid that he had produced the world before he had rendered it ſenſible.

Thus from all eternity exiſted God, the author

[s] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ibid. p. 94. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 30, 51, &c. Diogen. Laert. lib. 3, § 69. Cicer. Academ. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 70.

[t] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ibid. p. 93. Plat. in Tim. ibid. p. 29. Senec. Epiſt. 65.

of all good, matter, the principle of all evil, and that model according to which God had determined to reduce matter to order [x] *

When the moment decreed for this great work had arrived, the eternal Wiſdom iſſued his commands to chaos, and inſtantly the whole maſs was agitated by a fructifying and unknown motion. Its parts, which had before been ſeparated by an implacable hatred, haſtened to unite, and to embrace and enchain each other. Fire, for the firſt time, ſhone in the midſt of the darkneſs, and the air ſeparated from the earth and water [y]. Theſe four elements were deſtined to form the compoſition of all bodies [z].

To direct their motions, God, who had prepared a ſoul *, compoſed in part of the divine eſſence and in part of material ſubſtance [a], clothed it with the earth, the ſea, and the groſs air, beyond which he extended the deſerts of the heavens. From this intelligent principle, placed in the centre

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[u] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 28.

[x] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 94. Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 882. Id. de Anim. Procr. p. 1014. Diog. Laert. lib. 3, § 69. Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 678 et 691.

* Archytas, before Plato, had admitted three principles, God, matter, and form (Arch. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1, p. 82).

[y] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 53.

[z] Id. ibid. p. 32.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[a] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 95. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 34.

of the univerſe[b], iſſue as it were rays of flame, which are more or leſs pure as they are more or leſs diſtant from their centre; which inſinuate themſelves into bodies and animate their parts; and which, arrived at the boundaries of the world, diffuſe themſelves over its circumference, and form all around it a crown of light[c].

Scarcely had the univerſal ſoul been plunged into this ocean of matter which conceals it from our view[d], when it tried its ſtrength, and ſeveral times ſhaking and rapidly turning on itſelf the mighty whole, it drew after it the entire univerſe obedient to its efforts.

If this ſoul had only been a pure portion of the divine ſubſtance, its action, ever ſimple and conſtant, would have impreſſed only one uniform motion on the whole maſs; but as matter made a part of its eſſence, that occaſioned variety in the progreſſion of the univerſe. Thus, while one general impulſe, produced by the divine part of the univerſal ſoul, cauſed the whole to revolve from eaſt to weſt in the ſpace of twenty-four hours, a particular impulſe, produced by the material portion of that ſoul, cauſed the part of the heavens in

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[b] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 95. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 36.

[c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xxxii. p. 19.

[d] Plat. in Tim. p. 36.

which the planets float to advance from weſt to eaſt, according to certain ratios of velocity [e].

To conceive the cauſe of theſe two contrary motions, we muſt obſerve that the divine part of the univerſal ſoul is ever in oppoſition to the material part; that the former is moſt abundantly found toward the extremities of the world, and the latter in the beds of air which ſurround the earth [f]; and that, in fine, when motion was to be given to the univerſe, the material part of the ſoul, unable entirely to reſiſt the general direction given by the divine part, collected the remains of the irregular motion which had agitated it in chaos, and communicated it to the ſpheres which ſurround our globe.

The univerſe in the mean time was full of life. This only ſon, this begotten God [g], had received a ſpherical figure, the moſt perfect of all forms [h], and was ſubjected to a circular motion, the moſt ſimple of all and the moſt ſuitable to its form [i]. The Supreme Being ſurveyed his work with complacency [k], and having compared it with the model which he had followed in his operations, ſaw with

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[e] Tim. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. ibid. p. 38.
[f] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 94. Bruck. Hiſt. Phil. t. i. p. 705.
[h] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 33.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 34.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 37.

pleaſure that the principal features of the original were faithfully expreſſed in the copy.

But there was one exalted property which it could not receive; eternity, the eſſential attribute of the intellectual world, of which the viſible was not ſuſceptible. As it was not poſſible that theſe worlds ſhould poſſeſs the ſame perfections, God willed that they ſhould have ſimilar. He created time, that moveable image [l] of immoveable eternity *; time which, inceſſantly beginning and ending the circle of days and nights, months and years, ſeems in its courſe to know neither beginning nor end, and to meaſure the duration of the ſenſible world as eternity meaſures that of the intellectual; time, in fine, which would have left no traces of its preſence, had not viſible ſigns been appointed to diſtinguiſh its fugitive parts, and to regiſter, if I may ſo ſpeak, its motions [m]. With this view the Supreme Being enkindled the Sun [n], and impelled him with the other planets through the vaſt ſolitude of the air, whence that luminary inundates heaven with his ſplendour, ſheds his light on the paths of the planets, and fixes the limits of the year, as the Moon determines thoſe of the

[l] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 97. Plat. in Tim. p. 37.

* Rouſſeau, in his Ode to Prince Eugene, has borrowed this expreſſion from Plato.

[m] Plat. ibid. p. 38.

[n] Id. ibid. p. 39.

months. The planets Mercury and Venus, borne along by the ſphere over which he preſides, continually accompany him in his progreſs. Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, have alſo their particular periods unknown to the vulgar [o].

And now the Author of all things thus addreſſed the genii to whom he had confided the government of the ſtars [p]: "Ye gods, who owe to me your birth, liſten to my ſovereign commands. You have not a title to immortality, but you may participate in it by the power of my will, more potent than the bonds that unite the parts of which you are compoſed. It remains, to give perfection to this grand whole, to fill with inhabitants the ſeas, the earth, and the air. Were theſe creatures to receive life immediately from me, they would be exempt from the empire of death, and become equal to the gods themſelves. I therefore commit to you the care of producing them. Delegates of my power, unite to periſhable bodies the germs of immortality which you ſhall receive from me. Form eſpecially beings, who may command over other animals and be ſubject to you. Let them receive birth at your command, live and increaſe by your benefactions; and, after their death,

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[o] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. in Tim. p. 39.

[p] Plat. ibid. p. 40 et 41.

let them be united to you, and ſhare in your happineſs."

He ſaid, and immediately pouring into the cup in which he had mixed the ſoul of the world the remains which he had reſerved of that ſoul, he compoſed the ſouls of individual creatures; and adding to thoſe of men a portion of the divine eſſence [s], he annexed to them irrevocable deſtinies.

Then was it decreed that mortals capable of knowing and ſerving the Divinity ſhould be born; that the man ſhould have pre-eminence over the woman; that juſtice ſhould conſiſt in triumphing over the paſſions, and injuſtice in yielding to them; that the juſt after death ſhall paſs into the ſtars, and there enjoy an unalterable felicity; and that the unjuſt ſhall be changed into women, or, if they continue unjuſt, tranſmigrate into the bodies of different animals, and that they ſhall not be reſtored to the primitive dignity of their exiſtence until they ſhall have become obedient unto the voice of reaſon [t].

After theſe immutable decrees, the Supreme Being diſſeminated ſouls in the planets; and, having commanded the inferior gods to clothe them ſucceſſively with mortal bodies, to provide for their wants, and to govern them, he again entered into eternal repoſe [u].

[s] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 99.
[t] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42.
[u] Id. ibid.

Immediately

Immediately ſecond cauſes having borrowed from matter particles of the four elements, bound them with inviſible bonds [x], and collected around the ſouls the different parts of bodies deſtined to ſerve them for vehicles to convey them from place to place [y].

The immortal and rational ſoul was aſſigned its place in the brain, in the moſt elevated part of the body, to regulate its motions [z]. But beſides this divine principle, the inferior gods formed a mortal ſoul, deſtitute of reaſon, in which were to reſide pleaſure which attracts evil, and pain which makes good diſappear; audacity and fear, the ſources of imprudent actions; anger ſo difficult to calm, hope which ſo eaſily ſeduces, and all the violent paſſions which are the neceſſary adjuncts of our nature. This ſoul occupies in the human body two regions ſeparated by an intermediate partition. The iraſcible part, endowed with ſtrength and courage, was placed in the breaſt, where, ſituated more near to the immortal ſoul, it may more diſtinctly hear the voice of reaſon, and where beſides all things concur to moderate its frantic tranſports; the air which we reſpire, the liquids with which we aſſuage our thirſt, and even the veſſels which diſtribute the fluids through all the parts of the body.

[x] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 43.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 69.
[z] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 99 et 100. Plat. in Tim. p. 69.

In fact, it is by their means that reaſon, informed of the efforts of anger as they take birth, awakens all the ſenſes by her menaces and her cries, and forbids them to join in the culpable exceſſes of the heart, which, in deſpite of itſelf, it retains in obedience [a].

Still farther, and in the region of the ſtomach, was enchained that other part of the mortal ſoul which is only occupied by the groſs neceſſities of life; a greedy and ferocious animal, that was placed at a diſtance from the part in which the immortal ſoul reſides, that it might not diſturb its operations by its clamours and its howlings. The immortal part has nevertheleſs continually preſerved its ſuperiority over it, and, unable to govern it by reaſon, has ſubjugated it by fear. As it is placed near the liver, the rational and eternal ſoul paints in this ſhining and poliſhed viſcus the objects moſt proper to terrify it [b]. It then views in this mirror only frightful and menacing wrinkles, and dreadful ſpectres, which fill it with inquietude and diſguſt. At other times, to theſe gloomy proſpects ſucceed more pleaſing and lively images; peace reigns around it, and then is it that, during ſleep, it foreſees remote events. For the inferior gods, commanded to endow us with all the perfections of which we are ſuſceptible, have ordained that this blind and groſs portion of our ſoul ſhould

[a] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 70.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 71.

be enlightened by a ray of truth. This privilege cannot be beſtowed on the immortal ſoul, ſince futurity is never unveiled to reaſon, and only manifeſted in ſleep, during ſickneſs, or in the tranſports of enthuſiaſm

The qualities of matter, the phænomena of nature, the wiſdom which eſpecially ſhines conſpicuous in the diſpoſition and uſes of the parts of the human body, and various other objects worthy of the greateſt attention, would lead me too far; I therefore return to what I at firſt propoſed.

God could create, and has created, only the beſt of poſſible worlds[d], becauſe he worked on a rude and diſorderly matter which inceſſantly oppoſed his will with the moſt ſtubborn reſiſtance. This oppoſition ſtill ſubſiſts[e]; and hence tempeſts, earthquakes, and all the revolutions which take place on our globe. The inferior gods when they formed us were obliged to employ the ſame means as the Supreme Divinity[f], and hence the maladies of the body, and thoſe, ſtill more dangerous, of the ſoul. All which is good in the univerſe in general, and in man in particular, proceeds from the Supreme God; and all that is defective in them is to be attributed to the vicioufneſs inherent in matter[g].

[c] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 71.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 30 et 56. Senec. Epiſt. 65.
[e] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 176.
[f] Id. in Tim. t. iii. p. 44.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 47, et in Politic. t. ii. p. 273.

CHAP. LX.

Remarkable Events in Greece and Sicily (from the year 357 to the year 354 before Chriſt). Expedition of Dion. Proſecution of the Generals Timotheus and Iphicrates. Beginning of the Sacred War.

I HAVE ſaid above * that Dion, baniſhed from Syracuſe by king Dionyſius his nephew, had at length reſolved to deliver his country from the yoke under which it groaned. Leaving Athens, he departed for the iſland of Zacynthus, the rendezvous of the troops which he had for ſome time aſſembled.

He there found three thouſand men, the greater part raiſed in Peloponneſus, all of tried valour, and regardleſs of danger [h]. They were yet ignorant of their deſtination, but when they learned that they were to attack a ſovereign defended by a hundred thouſand infantry, ten thouſand cavalry, four hundred galleys, numerous fortreſſes, immenſe riches

* See Chap. XXXIII.

[h] Plat. Epiſt. 7, t. iii. p. 333. Ariſtot. de Rhetor. cap. 9, t. ii. p. 623. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 420.

and formidable alliances [i], they only beheld in the projected enterprise the despair of a proscribed exile, who was rashly eager to sacrifice every thing to his revenge. Dion, on the other side, represented to them that they were not to march against the most powerful empire in Europe, but the most contemptible and feeble of monarchs [k]. "I am not," added he, "in want of soldiers; those of Dionysius will soon be at my command: I have only selected leaders who may give them examples of courage and lessons of discipline [l]. I am so certain of the success of our enterprise, and the glory which must redound to us from it, that were I to perish in the moment of our arrival at Sicily, I should still esteem myself happy in having conducted you thither [m]."

This harangue had infused new courage into his soldiers, when an eclipse of the moon revived all their former fears *; but these were again dissipated by the firmness of Dion, and the answer of the augur of the army, who, when questioned concerning the omen, answered that the power of the king of Syracuse was on the point of being

[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 413. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6, cap. 12. Nep. in Dion. cap. 5.

[k] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 404.

[l] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 967.

[m] Aristot. ibid. p. 405.

* This eclipse happened on the 9th of August of the year before Christ 357. See note at the end of the volume.

eclipſed [n]. The ſoldiers immediately embarked, to the number of eight hundred [o], and the remainder of the troops were to follow, under the command of Heraclides. Dion had only two ſhips of burden, and two lighter veſſels, all abundantly provided with arms, warlike ſtores, and proviſions [p].

This ſmall fleet, which a violent tempeſt drove toward the coaſt of Africa, and on rocks where it was in danger of being wrecked, at length arrived at the port of Minoa, in the ſouthern part of Sicily. This was a fortreſs appertaining to the Carthaginians. The governor, from friendſhip to Dion, or perhaps to foment diſturbances beneficial to the intereſt of Carthage, ſupplied the troops, fatigued by a perilous and difficult voyage, with every neceſſary. Dion wiſhed to allow them ſome time to reſt; but they, having learned that Dionyſius had a few days before embarked for Italy, preſſed their general to lead them with all poſſible expedition to Syracuſe [q].

In the mean time the report of the arrival of Dion, ſpreading with rapidity, filled the whole country with hope and fear. Already the inhabitants of Agrigentum, Gela, and Camarina, had

[n] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 968.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 967.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 968.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 969.

come over to him, and thoſe of Syracuſe and the neighbouring country reſorted to his army in crowds. To five thouſand of theſe he diſtributed the arms which he had brought from Peloponneſus[r]. The principal inhabitants of the capital, habited in white robes, received him at the gates of the city[s], which he entered at the head of his troops, who marched in ſilence, followed by fifty thouſand perſons, who made the air ring with their ſhouts[t]. At the ſound of the trumpet the clamour ceaſed, and the herald who preceded him declared Syracuſe free, and tyranny deſtroyed. At theſe words tears of grateful emotion ſtreamed from every eye, and nothing was heard but a confuſed mixture of loud ſhouts and vows addreſſed to heaven. The incenſe of ſacrifice ſmoked in the temples and the ſtreets, and the people, in the exceſs of their joy and gratitude, proſtrated themſelves at the feet of Dion, invoking him as a beneficent divinity, and throwing flowers over him. A moment after they fell furiouſly on the odious race of ſpies and informers with which the city ſwarmed, and maſſacred them without mercy; and theſe ſcenes of horror increaſed the general joy[u].

Dion continued his auguſt march through the midſt of tables ſpread on each ſide of the ſtreet.

[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 414.
[s] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 970.
[t] Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 415.
[u] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 970.

When he came to the forum he ſtopped, and, from an elevated place, addreſſed the people, to whom he again offered liberty, exhorting them to defend it with fortitude, and conjuring them to place at the head of the republic only ſuch men as ſhould be able to conduct it in circumſtances ſo critical. The people nominated himſelf and his brother Megacles; but however illuſtrious and honourable they eſteemed the power with which they were to be inveſted, they refuſed to accept it but on condition that twenty of the principal inhabitants of Syracuſe, the greater part of whom had been proſcribed by Dionyſius, ſhould be aſſigned them as aſſociates.

Some days after, Dionyſius, informed too late of the arrival of Dion [u], returned by ſea to Syracuſe, and entered the citadel, which was held blocked up by a wall that had been built round it. He immediately ſent deputies to Dion [x], who directed them to addreſs themſelves to the people. When admitted to the general aſſembly, they endeavoured to gain its favour by the moſt flattering offers; ſuch as a diminution of the taxes, and an exemption from military ſervice in all wars undertaken without the conſent of the aſſembly. Dionyſius promiſed every thing, but the people re-

[u] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 969. Diod. lib. 16, p. 415.
[x] Plut, ibid. p. 971.

quired that the abolition of tyranny ſhould be the firſt condition of the treaty.

The king, who meditated an act of perfidy, protracted the negociation, and cauſed a report to be circulated that he conſented to reſign his authority [y]. At the ſame time he ſent for the deputies from the people, and having detained them during the whole night, commanded a ſally at the break of day. The barbarians who compoſed the garriſon attacked the wall which ſhut in the citadel, demoliſhed a part of it, and repulſed the troops of Syracuſe, who believing that an accommodation would ſpeedily be concluded, had ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed.

Dion, convinced that the fate of his country depended on the event of this day, ſaw no other reſource to encourage the intimidated troops than to carry valour to temerity. He calls them to ruſh into the midſt of their enemies, not with his voice, which it is no longer poſſible they ſhould hear, but by his example, which fills them with aſtoniſhment, and which they heſitate to follow. He ſingly makes his way through the victorious enemy, numbers of whom fall beneath his ſword, but at length is wounded, ſtruck down, and carried off by ſome Syracuſan ſoldiers, whoſe returning courage inſpires him with new ſtrength. He

[y] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 971. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 416. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 5, cap. 2, § 7.

immediately mounts his horſe, collects the fugitives, and with his hand that had been pierced by a lance, ſhews them the fatal field in which it muſt quickly be decided whether they ſhall paſs the remainder of their days in liberty or bondage. A moment after he flies to the camp of the Peloponneſian troops, and brings them up to the combat. The barbarians, exhauſted with fatigue, only made a feeble reſiſtance, and fled to conceal their ſhame in the citadel. The Syracuſans diſtributed a hundred minæ * to each of the foreign ſoldiers, who unanimouſly decreed a crown of gold to their general [z].

Dionyſius then perceived that it would be impoſſible for him to triumph over his enemies unleſs he could diſunite them, and reſolved to employ the ſame artifices to render Dion ſuſpected to the people, which he had formerly made uſe of to render him odious to them. Hence thoſe whiſpered rumours which he cauſed to be ſpread through Syracuſe, thoſe intrigues and ſuſpicions with which he diſturbed the peace of families, thoſe inſidious negociations, and that fatal correſpondence which he maintained both with Dion and the people. All his letters were communicated to the general aſſembly. One day one was found with this addreſs; *To my Father.* The Syracuſans,

* 9000 livres (375 l.)
[z] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 971.

who believed it to be from Hipparinus, Dion's ſon, did not offer to look into it, but Dion opened it himſelf. Dionyſius had foreſeen that ſhould he refuſe to read it publicly, it would excite ſuſpicion; and that if he read it, it muſt inſpire fears. It was in the hand-writing of the king, who had expreſſed himſelf in the moſt artful manner, and inſiſted much on the reaſons which ought to induce Dion to deſert the intereſts of the people. His wife, his ſon, and his ſiſter, were ſhut up in the citadel, and on theſe Dionyſius might take cruel vengeance. Theſe indirect menaces were ſucceeded by complaints and entreaties equally capable of moving a mind of ſenſibility and generoſity. But the moſt virulent poiſon was concealed in the following words: "Recollect the zeal with which formerly, while you were with me, you ſupported tyranny. Far from reſtoring liberty to men who muſt hate you, becauſe they remember the evils of which you have been the author and the inſtrument, keep in your own hands the power which they have confided to you, and which alone can enſure your ſecurity, and that of your family and your friends[a]."

Dionyſius could not have derived more advantage from the gaining of a battle than he did from this letter. Dion appeared to the people as under the moſt unavoidable neceſſity to keep meaſures

[a] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 972. Polyæn. lib. 5, cap. 2, § 8.

with, or to reſtore, the tyrant. From that moment he might have foreſeen the loſs of his influence, for when once confidence is injured it is ſoon deſtroyed.

In the mean time arrived, under the conduct of Heraclides, the ſecond diviſion of the troops from Peloponneſus. Heraclides, who enjoyed great credit at Syracuſe [b], ſeemed only deſtined to increaſe the troubles of a ſtate. His ambition formed projects which his fickleneſs never permitted him to carry into execution. He betrayed all parties without effecting the triumph of that which he eſpouſed, and was only ſucceſsful in multiplying intrigues uſeleſs to his deſigns. Under the tyrants he had filled with diſtinction the firſt offices in the army. He had afterwards joined, deſerted, and again returned to Dion. He poſſeſſed neither the virtues nor the abilities of that great man, but he ſurpaſſed him in the arts of pleaſing and gaining friends [c]. Dion repulſed thoſe who approached him by a cold reception, and the ſeverity of his manners and his mind. His friends to no purpoſe exhorted him to become more affable and acceſſible, and Plato in vain told him in his letters, that to be uſeful to men it was neceſſary to begin by being agreeable to them [d]. Heraclides, more eaſy and indulgent, becauſe nothing was ſacred in

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 419.
[c] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 972.
[d] Plat. Epiſt. 4, t. iii. p. 321.

his eſteem, corrupted the orators by his preſents, and the multitude by his flatteries. The people had already reſolved to throw themſelves into his arms, and at the firſt meeting of the aſſembly the command of the fleet was conferred upon him. Dion, arriving in the moment, repreſented that the new office was a diſmemberment of his own authority, obtained the revocation of the decree, and afterwards cauſed it to be confirmed in a more regular aſſembly, which he was careful to convoke. He was beſides deſirous to add ſeveral new prerogatives to the office of his rival, and contented himſelf with making remonſtrances to him in private [e].

Heraclides affected to appear ſenſible of this generous procedure. Aſſiduous, and even crouching to Dion, he obſerved, anticipated, and executed his commands, apparently with all the eagerneſs of gratitude, while by ſecret intrigues he created invincible obſtacles to his deſigns. If Dion propoſed an accommodation with Dionyſius, ſuſpicions were ſpread that he ſecretly maintained a good underſtanding with the tyrant; and if he made no ſuch propoſal, it was ſaid that he wiſhed to continue the war as long as poſſible to perpetuate his own authority [f].

Theſe abſurd accuſations were urged with ſtill

[e] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 972.
[f] Plut. ibid. p. 973.

more force after the fleet of the Syracuſans had defeated that of the king, commanded by Philiſtus *. The galley of that general having been driven on ſhore, he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of an irritated populace, who before they put him to death treated him with the utmoſt barbarity, and dragged him ignominiouſly through the ſtreets g. Dionyſius himſelf, had he been taken, would have undergone the ſame fate. He therefore, ſeeing he had no longer any reſource, gave up the citadel to his ſon Apollocrates, and found means to eſcape into Italy with his wives and treaſures. Heraclides who, in quality of admiral, ſhould have prevented his flight, ſeeing the inhabitants of Syracuſe enraged againſt him, had the addreſs to turn the ſtorm on Dion, by ſuddenly propoſing a diviſion of the lands

This propoſition, the eternal ſource of diſſenſions in many republican ſtates, was received with avidity by the multitude, who no longer circumſcribed their claims by any bounds. The oppoſition of Dion occaſioned a revolt, and in an inſtant obliterated the memory of his ſervices. It was determined that they ſhould immediately proceed to a diviſion of the lands, that the Peloponneſian troops ſhould be diſmiſſed, and that the adminiſ-

* Under the archonſhip of Elpines, in the year before Chriſt $\frac{356}{355}$. Diod. p. 419.

g Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 974. Diod. ibid.

h Plut. ibid.

tration of affairs ſhould be confided to twenty-five new magiſtrates, of whom Heraclides ſhould be one[i].

Nothing was now thought of but to depoſe and condemn Dion. As the adverſe party however greatly feared the foreign troops he had with him, attempts were made to ſeduce them by the moſt ſplendid offers; but thoſe brave warriors, who had been treated with inſult by being deprived of their pay, and ſtill more by being thus ſuppoſed capable of treachery, placed their general in the midſt of them, and paſſed through the city, purſued and preſſed by all the people, to whoſe outrages they only anſwered by reproaches for their ingratitude and their perfidy, while Dion to pacify them had recourſe to intreaties and every mark of tenderneſs and affection. The Syracuſans, aſhamed that they had ſuffered him to eſcape, ſent after him, to haraſs his retreat, troops who took to flight the moment he gave the ſignal to attack them.

He retired to the territories of the Leontines[k] who not only conſidered it as an honour done to themſelves to admit him and his brave companions into the number of their fellow citizens, but by a noble generoſity reſolved to procure him a ſignal ſatisfaction. After having ſent ambaſſadors to Syracuſe, to complain of the injuſtice with

[i] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 975.
[k] Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 420.

which the deliverers of Sicily had been treated, and received deputies from that city, appointed to accuſe Dion, they convoked their allies, the cauſe was diſcuſſed in the aſſembly, and the conduct of the Syracuſans unanimouſly condemned.

Far from acknowledging the juſtice of this ſentence, the people of Syracuſe congratulated themſelves on having at once ſhaken off the yoke of two tyrants by whom they had ſucceſſively been oppreſſed; and their joy was ſtill more increaſed by ſome advantages gained over the ſhips of Dionyſius, which came to bring a ſupply of proviſions for the citadel, and to throw into it ſome troops commanded by Nypſius of Neapolis[1].

That able general, however, believed that the time to ſubdue the rebels was at length arrived. Encouraged by their late trivial ſucceſs, the inſolence of the Syracuſans no longer ſubmitted to any reſtraint, but had broken every bond of ſubordination and decency. Their days were paſſed in the exceſſes of the table, and their leaders ſuffered themſelves to be hurried away by a licentiouſneſs they could no longer check. Nypſius ſallied from the citadel, threw down the wall by which it had been a ſecond time ſurrounded, made himſelf maſter of one quarter of the city, and gave it up to pillage. The troops of Syracuſe were repulſed,

[1] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 976. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 420.

the inhabitants maſſacred, and their wives and children laden with chains, and led priſoners to the citadel. The aſſembly immediately met, and deliberated in tumult. Terror had frozen every mind, and deſpair no longer found any reſource. At this moment ſome voices were heard which propoſed the recall of Dion and his army. The people immediately demanded him with loud exclamations: "Let him come," ſaid they; "may the Gods reſtore him to us, that he may once more inſpire us with new courage [m]."

The deputies appointed to make known to Dion the wiſhes of the people were ſo expeditious, that they arrived on the ſame day in the territories of the Leontines. They fell at the feet of Dion, bathed in tears, and moved his compaſſion by a lively deſcription of the calamities which his country ſuffered. When introduced to the aſſembly of the Leontines, the two principal ambaſſadors conjured the people to ſave a city but too deſerving both of their hatred and their pity.

When they had ended, a mournful ſilence reigned in the aſſembly. Dion attempted to ſpeak, but tears interrupted his words. At length, encouraged by his troops, who participated in his grief, he thus addreſſed them: "Warriors of Peloponneſus, and you faithful allies, it is for you to deli-

[m] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 976. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 422.

berate on what regards yourſelves; I, for my part, have not the liberty of choice. Immediate deſtruction menaces Syracuſe, and it is my duty to ſave her, or bury myſelf beneath her ruins. I place myſelf among the number of her deputies; and I add, we have been the moſt imprudent, and we now are the moſt unfortunate of men. If you are moved at our remorſe, haſten to ſuccour a city which you have once ſaved: if you can only fix your attention on our injuſtice, may the gods at leaſt recompenſe the zeal and fidelity of which you have given me ſuch affecting proofs! and never may you forget that Dion, who forſook not you when his country was in fault, and never will abandon his country when ſhe is unfortunate."

He was about to continue, but all the ſoldiers, with the livelieſt emotion, exclaimed with one voice: "Place yourſelf at our head, and let us fly to deliver Syracuſe." The ambaſſadors, overcome with joy and gratitude, threw themſelves on their necks, and invoked a thouſand bleſſings on Dion, who only gave his troops time to take a ſlight repaſt[n].

Scarcely had he begun his march, when he was met by other deputies, ſome of whom preſſed him to haſten, and others to defer his return. The former ſpoke in the name of the wiſeſt and beſt part of

[n] Plut. in Diod. t. i. p. 977.

the citizens; the latter were the agents of the oppoſite faction. The enemy having retired, the orators had again appeared, and ſowed diſſenſion in the minds of the people; a part of whom, induced by their clamours, had reſolved to owe their liberty only to themſelves, and to ſeize on the gates of the city, to exclude all foreign ſuccour; while, on the other ſide, the more ſenſible citizens, terrified at ſuch fooliſh preſumption, uſed all their efforts to confirm the recall of the Peloponneſian ſoldiers [o]. Dion did not think it proper either to ſuſpend or haſten his march. He advanced ſlowly towards Syracuſe, and was only at the diſtance of ſixty ſtadia*, when couriers ſucceſſively arrived from all parties and all ranks of the citizens, even Heraclides himſelf, his moſt implacable enemy. The beſieged had made a new ſally, and while ſome completed the deſtruction of the wall of circumvallation, others, like raging tigers, attacked the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex; while others, to form an impenetrable barrier againſt the foreign troops, threw firebrands and flaming darts on the houſes contiguous to the citadel [p].

At this news Dion haſtened to the city with all poſſible ſpeed. Already he perceived the flames and clouds of ſmoke which roſe in the air, and heard the inſolent ſhouts of the victors, and the

[o] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 977.
* About two leagues and a quarter.
[p] Id. ibid.

lamentable cries of the inhabitants. He arrived, the people fell at his feet, and the enemy, in aſtoniſhment, drew up in order of battle, at the foot of the citadel [9]. They choſe this poſt that they might be defended by the almoſt inacceſſible ruins of the wall they had deſtroyed, and ſtill more by that terrible rampart of fire which their fury had enkindled.

While the Syracuſans laviſhed on their general the ſame acclamations and the ſame titles of Saviour and God with which they had received him on his firſt triumph, his troops divided into columns, and, animated by his example, advanced in good order through the burning aſhes, the flaming timbers, and the blood and dead bodies with which the ſquares and ſtreets were filled; and through the dreadful darkneſs of a thick ſmoke, by the ſtill more dreadful light of devouring fires, and amid the ruins of houſes which fell with a fearful craſh on every ſide of them. When arrived at the laſt intrenchment, they paſſed it with the ſame courage, notwithſtanding the obſtinate and ferocious reſiſtance of the ſoldiers of Nypſius, who were cut in pieces, or obliged to ſhut themſelves up in the citadel.

On the day following the inhabitants, after having ſtopt the progreſs of the conflagration, found

[9] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 978.

themſelves in profound tranquillity. The orators and other heads of the factions had fled from the city into voluntary baniſhment, except Heraclides and Theodotus, his uncle, who were too well acquainted with Dion not to know that his anger would eaſily be diſarmed by a confeſſion of their fault. The friends of the latter warmly repreſented to him that he would never be able to root out the ſpirit of ſedition, a ſtill worſe evil than tyranny, from the ſtate, if he refuſed to give up theſe two criminals to the ſoldiers, who loudly demanded their puniſhment; but Dion mildly replied: "Other generals paſs their lives in martial labours to obtain ſucceſs which they frequently owe only to chance. Educated in the ſchool of Plato, I have learned to triumph over my paſſions; and to enſure a victory which I may attribute to myſelf alone, I muſt pardon and forget offences. Becauſe Heraclides has debaſed his ſoul by his perfidies and wickedneſs, muſt mine be defiled by anger and revenge? I ſeek not to excel him in power or abilities; I wiſh to vanquiſh him by my virtues, and to recall him to his duty by my benefactions[r].

In the mean time he blocked the citadel ſo cloſely, that the garriſon, being in want of proviſions, could no longer be made to obey any

[r] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 978.

diſcipline. Apollocrates, obliged to capitulate, obtained permiſſion to depart with his mother, his ſiſter, and his effects, which he carried away in five galleys. The people ran to the ſea-ſide to view the pleaſing ſight, and enjoy the glorious day on which liberty was at length reſtored to Syracuſe, the laſt remains of her oppreſſors expelled, and the moſt powerful of tyrannies entirely deſtroyed[s].

Apollocrates proceeded to join his father Dionyſius, who was then in Italy. After his departure Dion entered the citadel, where Ariſtomache his ſiſter, and Hipparinus his ſon, met him, and received his firſt embraces. Arete followed them, trembling, transfixed with grief, and wiſhing, yet fearing, to liſt up to him her eyes ſuffuſed with tears, when Ariſtomache, taking her by the hand, thus addreſſed her brother: "How ſhall it be poſſible to expreſs all that we have ſuffered during your abſence? Your return and your victories at length permit us to reſpire. But alas! my daughter, compelled at the expence of her own happineſs and mine to enter into a new union, is wretched amid the univerſal joy. In what manner will you view the fatal neceſſity to which the cruelty of the tyrant has reduced her? Shall ſhe ſalute you as her uncle or her huſband?" Dion, unable to reſtrain his tears, tenderly embraced his wife, and

[s] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 980. Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 565.

having committed his ſon to her care, entreated her to ſhare with him the humble habitation he had choſen, for he would not dwell in the palace of kings[t].

It is not my deſign to write the panegyric of Dion; I mean ſimply to relate ſome of his actions: and though the intereſting facts of the narrative in which I have engaged may have perhaps led me too far, I cannot deny myſelf the pleaſure of following to the cloſe of his days, a man who, placed in every different condition and ſituation, was ever as unlike to others as he was ſimilar to himſelf, and whoſe life would furniſh the nobleſt materials for the hiſtory of virtue.

After ſo many triumphs, he wiſhed to acquit himſelf, in public and in private, of what he owed to the companions of his labours, and the citizens who had aſſiſted in effecting the revolution. With ſome he ſhared his glory, with others his riches. Simple and modeſt in his dreſs, and frugal and plain in his diet, he was only magnificent in the exerciſe of his generoſity. While he enforced the admiration not only of Sicily but of Carthage and all Greece; while Plato told him that the eyes of the whole world were fixed on him [u], he was only attentive to that ſmall number of enlightened ſpectators, who, diſregarding his ex-

[t] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 980.
[u] Plat. Epiſt. 4, t. iii. p. 320.

ploits and his ſucceſs, waited to obſerve him in the moment of proſperity, to beſtow on him their eſteem or their contempt [x].

In his time, in fact, the philoſophers had conceived the project of ſeriouſly labouring for the reformation of the human race. With this view they had undertaken to form the mind of the younger Dionyſius, who had diſappointed their hopes. Dion had afterwards again revived them, and ſeveral diſciples of Plato had followed him in his expedition [y]. From their ideas and his own experience, with the aſſiſtance of ſome Corinthians, whom he had induced to come to Syracuſe, he traced the plan of a republic, which ſhould conciliate all powers and all intereſts. He gave the preference to a mixt government, in which the claſs of the principal citizens ſhould counterbalance the power of the ſovereign and that of the people. He even wiſhed that the people ſhould not be called on to vote, except on certain occaſions, as was practiſed at Corinth [z].

He dared not however attempt to carry his project into execution, becauſe he foreſaw his deſigns muſt be oppoſed by an almoſt invincible obſtacle. Heraclides, ſince their reconciliation, had never ceaſed to perplex him by open or ſecret intrigues;

[x] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 967.
[z] Plat. Ep. 7, t. iii. p. 335. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.

and, as he was the idol of the multitude, it could not be expected that he would favour a project which would destroy the democracy. The partisans of Dion proposed to him, more than once, to rid himself of this restless and turbulent man. He had always refused to give his consent to this, but it was at length forced from him by importunity [a]. The Syracusans immediately rose, and though he appeased them, they were highly incensed at an action which circumstances might seem to justify in the eyes of the politician, but which filled his soul with remorse, and overclouded with melancholy the remainder of his days.

Delivered from this enemy, he soon found another more perfidious and more dangerous. During his stay in Athens, an Athenian, named Callippus*, received him into his house, obtained his friendship, of which he was unworthy [b], and followed him into Sicily. Promoted to the first military offices, he justified the choice of his general, and gained the confidence of the troops.

After the death of Heraclides, he perceived that it would cost him but one atrocious action to render himself master of Sicily. The multitude were in need of a chief who would flatter them in their caprices. They feared more and more lest Dion should despoil them of their authority, to vest it

[a] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981. Nep. in Dion. cap. 6.

* Cornelius Nepos calls him Callicrates. T.

[b] Plat. Ep. 7, t. iii. p. 333 et 334. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.

in himſelf, or beſtow it on the claſs of rich citizens. Among people of underſtanding, the politicians conjectured, that he would not always be able to reſiſt the allurements of a crown[c], and imputed to him their ſuſpicions as a crime. The greater part of thoſe warriors whom he had brought from Peloponneſus, and whom honour had attached to his ſervice, had fallen in battle[d].—In fine, all minds, fatigued with their own inaction and his virtues, regretted the licentiouſneſs and the factions in which they had ſo long been engaged.

On this ſituation of affairs Callippus founded his inſidious machinations. He began by informing Dion of the true or ſuppoſed murmurs which the troops, he ſaid, ſometimes ſuffered to eſcape them; and even procured himſelf to be commiſſioned to ſound their diſpoſitions and intentions. He then inſinuated himſelf into the good opinion of the ſoldiers, fomented their diſcontents, and communicated his views to thoſe who favoured his advances; while they who rejected them with indignation, in vain appriſed their general of the ſecret practices of Callippus; he only ſaw in his conduct the aſſiduity and zeal of a faithful friend[e].

The conſpiracy made greater progreſs every day; but Dion would not deign to beſtow on it

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[c] Plut. in Brut. p. 1010.
[d] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.
[e] Plut. in. Dion. t. i. p. 982. Nep. ibid. cap. 8.

the leaſt attention. He was at length induced to pay ſome regard to the notices he received from every quarter, and which for ſome time had alarmed his family; but tormented with the remembrance of the death of Heraclides, ever preſent to his mind, he declared that he would rather chooſe to die a thouſand times, than to be inceſſantly taking precautions againſt his friends and his enemies [f].

In the choice of the former he was not ſufficiently careful [g]; and when he was convinced that the greater part of thoſe he had ſuppoſed his friends were men of baſe and corrupt minds, he made no uſe of the diſcovery; either becauſe he could not believe them capable of ſuch an exceſs of villany [h], or becauſe he thought he ought to reſign himſelf to his fate. He then no doubt was an inſtance, that it is poſſible for virtue itſelf to be diſcouraged by the injuſtice and wickedneſs of men.

In the mean time his wife and ſiſter aſſiduouſly inveſtigated the traces of the conſpiracy; which Callippus knowing, he preſented himſelf before them, ſhedding a flood of tears, and to perſuade them that he was innocent offered to ſubmit to the

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[f] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 982.
[g] Plut. Epiſt. 7, p. 333.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 351.

moſt rigorous teſt. They required from him the great oath.

This alone can inſpire the hardened villain with terror. He however immediately conſented to take it, and was conducted into the ſubterranean receſſes of the temple of Ceres and Proſerpine. There, after the ſacrifices preſcribed on ſuch occaſions, habited in the robe of one of thoſe goddeſſes, and holding a lighted torch, he called on them to witneſs his innocence, and pronounced the moſt horrible imprecations againſt himſelf, ſhould he be perjured. The ceremony ended, he proceeded to prepare every thing for the execution of his project [i].

He choſe for this the day of the feſtival of Proſerpine, and, having certified himſelf that Dion had not left his houſe, he put himſelf at the head of ſome ſoldiers, from the iſland of Zacynthus [k]; ſome of whom ſurrounded the houſe, while others forced their way into an apartment on the ground floor, in which Dion was, with ſeveral of his friends, who dared not riſk their lives to preſerve his. The conſpirators, who had come without arms, threw themſelves on him, and long tortured him in attempting to ſtrangle him; but as he ſtill breathed, ſome of thoſe without threw a dag-

[i] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 982. Nep. ibid. cap. 8.
[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 432.

ger in at the window, with which the aſſaſſins immediately ſtabbed him to the heart [l] *. Some pretend that Callippus had drawn his ſword, but could not prevail on himſelf to ſtrike his benefactor [m]. Thus died Dion, aged about fifty-five years, in the fourth year after his return into Sicily [n].

His death produced a ſudden change at Syracuſe. The inhabitants, who began to deteſt him as a tyrant, now lamented him as the author of their liberty. His funerals were celebrated at the expence of the public treaſury, and his tomb was erected in the moſt conſpicuous place in the city [o].

Yet, excepting a ſlight tumult, in which ſome blood was ſhed, which was not that of the guilty, no perſon dared to attack the aſſaſſins [p], and Callippus peaceably reaped the fruit of his crime. A ſhort time after the friends of Dion united to revenge his death, but were overpowered. Callippus, defeated in his turn by Hipparinus, the brother of Dionyſius [q], and every where hated and expelled, was conſtrained to take refuge in Italy, with a remnant of banditti who followed his fortunes, and at length periſhed miſerably, thirteen

[l] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 983. Nep. ibid. cap. 9.
* The year 353 before Chriſt.
[m] Plat. Epiſt. 7, t. iii. p. 334.
[n] Nep. in Dion. cap. 10.
[o] Id. ibid.
[p] Plut. in Brut. t. i. p. 1011.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 436.

months after the death of Dion, having been, as is pretended, ſtabbed with the ſame dagger which had deprived that great man of life [r].

While the people of Sicily were labouring to deſtroy tyranny, Athens, which boaſts ſo much of her love of liberty, exhauſted herſelf in vain efforts to bring again under the yoke the ſtates which for ſome years paſt had detached themſelves from her alliance *. She reſolved to ſeize on Byzantium, and, with this view, ſent off a hundred and twenty galleys under the command of Timotheus, Iphicrates and Chares, who ſailed to the Helleſpont, where the fleet of the enemy, nearly of equal force, ſoon after arrived. On each ſide preparations were made for battle, when a violent tempeſt aroſe. Chares nevertheleſs propoſed to begin the attack; and as the two other generals, more able and prudent, were of a different opinion, he openly accuſed them to the army, and ſeized this opportunity to effect their ruin. The people of Athens, when they heard the letters read in which he charged them with treachery, were inflamed with anger, immediately recalled them, and ordered a proſecution to be commenced againſt them [s].

The victories of Timotheus, ſeventy-five cities which he had united to the republic [t], the honours

[r] Plut. in Dion. p. 983.
* See Chap. XXIII.
[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 424.
[t] Æſchin. de Falſ. Legat. p. 406.

which had formerly been paid him, his old age, nor even the juſtice of his cauſe, could not all ſave him from the partiality of his judges. He was condemned to pay a fine of a hundred talents *, and retired to the city of Chalcis in Eubœa [u], filled with indignation againſt his fellow citizens, whom he had ſo often enriched by his conqueſts, and who after his death manifeſted a repentance equally late and fruitleſs [x]. He paid on this occaſion the tax of the contempt which he had always entertained for Chares. One day, at the election of generals, ſome mercenary orators, to exclude Iphicrates and Timotheus, highly extolled Chares, to whom they attributed the qualities of a robuſt athleta. He is, ſaid they, in the vigour of life, and capable of ſupporting the heavieſt fatigues. "Such a man is proper for the army."—"No doubt," ſaid Timotheus, "to carry the baggage [y]."

The condemnation of Timotheus did not appeaſe the fury of the Athenians, nor could it intimidate Iphicrates, who defended himſelf with intrepidity. The military expreſſion was remarked by which he turned the attention of his judges to the conduct of the general who had plotted his deſtruction. "My ſubject hurries me on," ſaid he, "I muſt open myſelf a way through the ac-

* 540,000 livres (22,500 l).
[u] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 3.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 4.
[y] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 187. Id, An Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 783.

tions of Chares [z]." In the courſe of his defence, he apoſtrophized the orator Ariſtophon, who had accuſed him of having ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by a bribe. "Anſwer me," ſaid he, with a tone of authority; "would you have been guilty of ſo infamous an action?" "I certainly ſhould not," replied the orator. "And can you ſuppoſe," anſwered he, "that Iphicrates can have done what Ariſtophon would not have been baſe enough to do [a]?"

To the reſources of eloquence he added another, the ſucceſs of which appeared to him leſs uncertain. The tribunal was ſurrounded by ſeveral young officers attached to his intereſts; and he himſelf let his judges ſometimes ſee a dagger which he wore under his robe. He was acquitted [b] and ſerved no more. When ſome perſons remonſtrated to him on the violence by which he thus overawed juſtice, he replied: "I have long borne arms for the ſafety of my country, and I ſhould be ſimple indeed if I did not have recourſe to them for my own ſecurity [c]."

Chares however did not proceed to Byzantium. Under the pretext that he was in want of proviſions [d], he entered with his army into the pay of

[z] Ariſtot. de Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 595.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 23, t. ii. p. 575.
[b] Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 3. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 3, cap. 9, No. 29.
[c] Polyæn. ibid.
[d] Demoſth. in Philip. t. i. p. 50.

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the ſatrap Artabazus, who had revolted againſt Artaxerxes king of Perſia, and who was on the point of being overpowered by forces ſuperior to his own [e]. The arrival of the Athenians changed the face of affairs. The army of Artaxerxes was defeated, and Chares immediately wrote to the people of Athens that he had obtained over the Perſians a victory no leſs glorious than that of Marathon [f]. But this news only occaſioned a tranſient joy. The Athenians, terrified at the complaints and menaces of the king of Perſia, recalled their general, and haſtened to offer peace and independence to the cities which had thrown off their yoke [g]. Thus terminated this war *, equally fatal to both parties. On the one ſide, ſeveral of the confederated ſtates, exhauſted of men and money, were obliged to ſubmit to the power of Mauſolus king of Caria [h]; and, on the other, Athens, beſides being deprived of the ſuccours ſhe derived from their alliance, loſt three of her beſt generals, Chabrias, Timotheus, and Iphicrates [i]. Immediately after another war began †,

[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 434.
[f] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1034.
[g] Diod. ibid. p. 424.
* Under the archonſhip of Elpines, which correſponds with the years 356 and 355 before Chriſt.
[h] Demoſth. de Rhod. Libert. p. 144.
[i] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 4.
† Under the archonſhip of Agathocles, the year 356 before Chriſt.

which became general, and to the misfortune of Greece diſplayed the great abilities of Philip of Macedon.

The Amphictyons, whoſe principal office is to watch over the intereſts of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, having aſſembled, the Thebans who, in concert with the Theſſalians, direct the proceedings of that tribunal, accuſed the Phocians of having ſeized on ſome lands which appertained to the god, and procured them to be condemned to pay a heavy fine[k]. The accuſers were impelled by the ſpirit of revenge. The Theſſalians ſtill bluſhed at the victories which the Phocians had formerly gained over them[l]. Beſides the motives of rivalry which always ſubſiſt between neighbouring nations, the city of Thebes was indignant at not having been able to force an inhabitant of Phocis to reſtore a Theban woman whom he had carried off[m].

The firſt decree was immediately followed by a ſecond, which conſecrated to the god the lands of the Phocians. It beſides authorized the Amphictyonic league to take vengeance on the cities which had till then neglected to obey the decrees of the tribunal. This latter clauſe had reference to the Lacedæmonians, againſt whom a decree had been

[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 425.
[l] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 1, p. 799.
[m] Duris, ap. Athen. lib. 13, cap. 1, p. 560.

paſſed, ſeveral years ſince, which had not yet been carried into execution [n].

In any other circumſtances the Phocians would have feared to brave the danger by which they were menaced. But it was then ſeen how much great revolutions ſometimes depend on trifling cauſes [o]. A ſhort time before, two individuals of Phocis, each wiſhing to obtain a rich heireſs for his ſon, intereſted the whole nation in their quarrel, and formed two parties, which, in all public deliberations, liſtened only to the voice of mutual hatred. Therefore no ſooner had ſome Phocians propoſed to ſubmit to the decrees of the Amphictyons, than Philomelus, whoſe riches and abilities had placed him at the head of the oppoſite faction, loudly exclaimed, that to give way to injuſtice was the moſt flagrant and pernicious of all acts of cowardice; that the Phocians had legitimate claims, not only to the lands which it had been made a crime in them to cultivate, but to the temple of Delphi itſelf; and that he only aſked their confidence in him to preſerve them from the ignominious chaſtiſement decreed againſt them by the tribunal of the Amphictyons [p].

His rapid eloquence had its full effect on the Phocians. Inveſted with abſolute power, he flew

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 425 et 430.

[o] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 390. Duris, ap. Athen. lib. 13, p. 560.

[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 425. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 2, p. 802.

to Lacedæmon, prevailed on king Archidamus to approve his projects, and obtained from him fifteen talents, which, added to fifteen others that he advanced himself, enabled him to take into pay a great number of mercenaries, to seize on the temple, surround it with a wall, and tear down from the columns the defamatory decrees which the Amphictyons had enacted against the states accused of sacrilege. The Locrians in vain hastened to the defence of the sacred place; they were put to flight; and their ravaged country enriched the conquerors [q]. The war lasted ten years and some months [r]: in the continuation of this work I shall relate the principal events which happened in that time.

[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 426.

[r] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 415. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 452. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 418 et 455. Pausan. lib. 9, p. 724. Id. lib. 10, p. 802.

CHAP. LXI.

Letters on the general Affairs of Greece, addreſſed to Anacharſis and Philotas, during their Travels in Egypt and Perſia.

DURING my ſtay in Greece, I had ſo often heard ſpeak of Egypt and Perſia, that I could no longer reſiſt my deſire to viſit thoſe two kingdoms: Apollodorus had aſſigned me Philotas to accompany me in my journey, and had promiſed to inform us of all that paſſed while we were abſent. Others of our friends made us the ſame promiſe. Their letters, which I ſhall here give, ſometimes entire, and ſometimes by extracts, were on ſome occaſions only a ſimple journal, and on others accompanied by reflections.

We ſet out at the end of the ſecond year of the 106th Olympiad *. The ſouth of Greece then enjoyed profound tranquillity, but the north was diſturbed by the war of the Phocians, and the enterpriſes of Philip king of Macedon.

Philomelus, the leader of the Phocians, had

* In the ſpring of the year 354 before Chriſt.

fortified himſelf at Delphi. He ſent off ambaſſadors on every ſide, but no perſon could have imagined that ſuch apparently unimportant diſputes would ultimately be the occaſion of the ruin of Greece, which a hundred and twenty-ſix years before had reſiſted the whole power of Perſia.

Philip was engaged in frequent quarrels with the Thracians, Illyrians, and other barbarous nations. He meditated the conqueſt of the Grecian cities ſituated on the frontiers of his kingdom, and of which the greater part were allied or tributary to the Athenians. The latter people, offended that he had kept poſſeſſion of Amphipolis, which had belonged to them, attempted ſome hoſtilities againſt him, but dared not proceed to an open rupture.

DIOTIMUS BEING ARCHON AT ATHENS,

The 3d year of the 106th Olympiad,

(From the 26th of June of the year 354, to the 14th of July of the year 353, before Chriſt.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

GREECE is full of diſſenſions[s]. Some condemn the enterpriſe of Philomelus, and others vindicate it. The Thebans, with the whole body of the Bœotians, the Locrians, and the different

[s] Diod. lib. 16, p. 430.

nations of Theſſaly, having all private injuries to revenge, threaten to take vengeance for the inſult offered to the god of Delphi. The Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, and ſome cities of Peloponneſus, have declared for the Phocians from hatred to the Thebans.

Philomelus at firſt proteſted that he would not touch the treaſures of the temple [t]; but, terrified at the preparations of the Thebans, he has ſeized on a part of thoſe riches, which has enabled him to increaſe the pay of the mercenaries, who from every ſide haſten to Delphi. He has ſucceſſively defeated the Locrians, the Bœotians, and the Theſſalians. . . . .

Some days ſince, the army of the Phocians, having entered a cloſe country, unexpectedly met with that of the Bœotians, ſuperior in numbers, and the latter gained a complete victory. Philomelus, covered with wounds, repulſed to an eminence, and ſurrounded on all ſides, choſe rather to throw himſelf from the top of a rock than to fall into the hands of his enemies [u] . . . . .

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[t] Diod. lib. 16, p. 429 et 431.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 432. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 2, p. 802

In the Archonship of Eudemus,

The 4th year of the 106th Olympiad,

(From the 14th of July of the year 353, to the 3d of July of the year 352, before Chriſt.)

Letter of Apollodorus.

IN the laſt aſſembly of the Phocians the perſons of moſt ſenſe adviſed peace; but Onomarchus, who had collected the ſhattered remains of the army, ſo effectually employed his eloquence and influence that it has been determined to continue the war, and to confide to him the ſame power as Philomelus poſſeſſed. He is employed in raiſing new troops. The gold and ſilver taken from the ſacred treaſury have been converted into money, and many of the ſtatues of braſs at Delphi into helmets and ſwords [x]. . . . .

A report has prevailed that Artaxerxes, king of Perſia, was preparing to turn his arms againſt Greece. Nothing was talked of but his immenſe preparations. It was ſaid that not leſs than twelve hundred camels would be neceſſary to carry the gold intended for the pay of the troops [y].

The aſſembly met tumultuouſly. In the midſt of the public alarm, ſome perſons propoſed to call on all the Grecian ſtates, and even the king of

[x] Diod. lib. 16, p. 433.
[y] Demoſth. de Claſſ. p. 136.

Macedonia[z], to unite for the general defence of Greece; to anticipate Artaxerxes, and to carry the war into his dominions. Demoſthenes, who, after having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his pleadings in the courts of juſtice, has lately taken an active part in public affairs, ſpoke in oppoſition to this propoſal; but he ſtrongly inſiſted on the neceſſity of putting ourſelves in a ſtate of defence. He has foreſeen and provided for every thing; ſtated what number of ſhips, what infantry, and what cavalry will be neceſſary, and in what manner the requiſite ſupplies may be raiſed. The diſcernment of the orator has been greatly applauded. In fact, ſuch prudent meaſures will be of the higheſt utility to us againſt Artaxerxes, ſhould he invade Greece, and againſt our preſent enemies, ſhould he have no ſuch deſign[a]. It has been ſince known that the king of Perſia had no thoughts of attacking us, and we have no longer thought ſeriouſly of any thing.

I know not how to accuſtom myſelf to theſe periodical exceſſes of deſpondence and confidence; we paſs in a moment from deſpair to exultation. An individual who never acquires experience by his errors is deſervedly abandoned to his folly; but in what light muſt we view a whole nation which, ſolely occupied by the preſent, beſtows not a

[z] Lit. Phil. ap. Demoſth. p. 114.
[a] Demoſth. de Rhod. p. 144.

thought on either the paſt or future, and which forgets its fears, as a flaſh of lightning or peal of thunder are forgotten when they are paſt.

The greater part of the people of Athens ſpeak of the king of Perſia with dread, and of the king of Macedon with contempt [b]. They do not obſerve that the latter prince has not failed for ſome time to take every opportunity to make incurſions into our territories; that he has ſeized on our iſlands of Imbros and Lemnos; that he has loaded with chains ſuch of our citizens as had ſettled in thoſe countries; that he has taken ſeveral of our ſhips on the coaſts of Eubœa; and that ſtill more recently he has made a deſcent on Attica, at Marathon, and carried off the ſacred galley [c]. This inſult, offered to us at the very place which was formerly the ſcene of our glory, has made us bluſh; but with us the colour of ſhame ſoon diſappears.

Philip is continually preſent every where. No ſooner had he quitted our ſhores than he flew to the maritime parts of Thrace, took the fortreſs of Methone, demoliſhed it, and diſtributed the fertile fields around it to his ſoldiers, of whom he is the idol.

During the ſiege of that city, he ſwam over the river [d]. An arrow, ſhot by an archer, or from a

[b] Demoſth. de Rhod. p. 147.
[c] Id. in Phil. 1, p. 52.
[d] Calliſth. ap. Plut. in Parall. t. ii. p. 307.

machine, ſtruck him in the right eye [e]; and, notwithſtanding the extreme pain he muſt have ſuffered, he regained the bank from which he had ſwum. His phyſician Critobulus has extracted the arrow with great ſkill [f]; the eye is not disfigured, but it is deprived of ſight *.

This accident has not diminiſhed his ardour: he is now beſieging the fortreſs of Heræa, to which we have juſt claims. Athens is in commotion, and the general aſſembly has paſſed a decree to raiſe a contribution of ſixty talents †, fit out forty galleys, and enrol thoſe who have not attained their forty-fifth year [g] ‡. Theſe preparations require time; the winter approaches, and the expedition muſt be deferred till the enſuing ſummer.

In the midſt of the alarm occaſioned by the projects of the Perſian monarch, and the enterpriſes of the king of Macedon, ambaſſadors arrived from the king of Lacedæmon, and others at the ſame time from the Megalopolitans, whoſe city he has beſieged. Archidamus propoſed to us to join the Lacedæmonians, and reſtore the cities

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[e] Strab. lib. 7, p. 330; lib. 8, p. 374. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 434. Juſtin. lib. 7, cap. 6.

[f] Plin. lib. 7, cap. 37, p. 395.

* A paraſite who followed Philip, named Clidemus, after that prince was wounded, appeared with a plaſter on his eye (Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 9, cap. 7).

† 324,000 livres (13,500 l.)

[g] Demoſth. Olynth. 3, p. 35.

‡ Toward the month of October, in the year 353 before Chriſt.

of Greece to the ſituation in which they were before the late wars. All uſurpations and encroachments were to be given back, and all new ſettlements deſtroyed. The Thebans have taken from us Oropus; they were to be forced to reſtore it: they have razed Theſpiæ and Platæa; they ſhould be rebuilt: they have founded Megalopolis in Arcadia, to reſtrain the incurſions of the Lacedæmonians; it ſhould be demoliſhed. The orators and citizens were divided in their opinions; Demoſthenes [h] clearly ſhewed that the execution of this project would indeed weaken the Thebans our enemies, but muſt increaſe the power of the Lacedæmonians our allies, and that our ſafety depended entirely on our being able to maintain a proper balance between thoſe two republics. Both parties have united to ſupport his opinion with their ſuffrages.

In the mean time the Phocians have furniſhed the Lacedæmonians with troops, and the Thebans and other ſtates have ſent aſſiſtance to the Megalopolitans. Many battles have already been fought, and, after much bloodſhed, peace will ſoon be concluded [i].

The war in the northern provinces of Greece has not been leſs murderous and deſtructive. The Phocians, Bœotians, and Theſſalians, by turns

[h] Demoſth. pro Megalop. p. 154.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 438.

conquerors and conquered, continue a conteſt which religion and national jealouſy render extremely cruel. An incident that has lately happened preſents but a melancholy proſpect. Lycophron, tyrant of Pheræ in Theſſaly, has entered into a league with the Phocians to ſubjugate the Theſſalians. The latter have implored the aſſiſtance of Philip, who has immediately haſtened to their ſuccour. After ſome indeciſive actions, two ſucceſſive defeats have obliged him to retire into Macedonia. It was imagined that he was reduced to the laſt extremity, and his ſoldiers began to deſert, when, on a ſudden, he again appeared in Theſſaly. His troops, and thoſe of the Theſſalians his allies, amounted to more than twenty-three thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Onomarchus, at the head of twenty thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, had joined Lycophron. The Phocians, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, have been defeated, and driven toward the ſea-ſhore, from which was ſeen at a diſtance the fleet of the Athenians, commanded by Chares. The greater part of the fugitives, having thrown themſelves into the ſea to ſwim to the Athenian ſhips, periſhed, with Onomarchus their general, whoſe body Philip cauſed to be hung on a gibbet. The loſs of the Phocians is very conſiderable; ſix thouſand were ſlain in the battle, and three thouſand, who had ſurrendered priſoners at diſcretion, have been

thrown into the ſea as wretches guilty of ſacrilege [k].

The Theſſalians, by joining with Philip, have thrown down the barrier which obſtructed the progreſs of his ambition. For ſome years he had ſuffered the Greeks to enfeeble each other, and from his throne, as from a watch-tower [l], had waited the moment when ſome one of the contending parties ſhould ſolicit his aſſiſtance. He is now authorized to interfere in the affairs of Greece. Every where the multitude, unable to penetrate his intentions, believe him inflamed with a zeal for religion; on every ſide they exclaim that he has owed his victory to the ſanctity of the cauſe which he ſupported, and that the gods have choſen him to avenge the inſult offered to their altars. He had himſelf foreſeen the advantages to be derived from ſuch an opinion; and before the battle, had commanded his ſoldiers to crown themſelves with laurels, as if he marched to the attack in the name of the divinity of Delphi, to whom that tree is conſecrated [m].

Intentions ſo pure, and ſucceſs ſo ſplendid, have exalted the admiration of the Greeks to enthuſiaſm. We hear of nothing but this prince, his extraordinary abilities and exemplary virtues. The following is an anecdote which is related of him.

[k] Diod. lib. 16, p. 435. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 2, p. 802.
[l] Juſtin. lib. 8, cap. 1.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 2.

He had in his army a ſoldier renowned for his bravery, but inſatiably avaricious[n]. The ſoldier had embarked for ſome diſtant expedition, and, his veſſel having been loſt, he was caſt, half dead, upon the ſhore. A Macedonian, who cultivated a ſmall field in the neighbourhood, hearing of his misfortune, haſtened to his aſſiſtance, preſerved his life, took him to his houſe, gave up to him his bed, and during a whole month attended him with unwearied aſſiduity, and afforded him every aid which pity and humanity could ſuggeſt. He afterward furniſhed him with the money neceſſary to enable him to return to Philip. You ſhall be convinced of my gratitude, ſaid the ſoldier, at parting, ſhould I ever again ſee the king my maſter. He arrived, related to Philip his misfortune, but ſaid not a word of him to whoſe humanity he was indebted for his life. As a recompence for his ſufferings in the ſervice of his ſovereign, he aſked a ſmall houſe near the place to which he had been carried by the waves, and which was no other than the houſe of his benefactor. The king immediately granted his requeſt; but being ſoon after informed of the whole truth of the tranſaction, by a letter from the owner of the houſe, written with much frankneſs and ſpirit, he expreſſed the higheſt indignation, and commanded the governor

[n] Senec. de Benef. lib. 4, cap. 37.

of the province to put the latter again in poſſeſſion of his dwelling, and to brand the forehead of the ſoldier with a mark of infamy.

This action has been extolled to the ſkies: I approve without admiring it. Philip himſelf deſerved more to be puniſhed than the ungrateful and rapacious ſoldier; for the ſubject who ſolicits an unjuſt grant is leſs culpable than the prince who beſtows it without examination. What then ought Philip to have done after having branded the ſoldier with infamy? To have renounced the wretched prerogative of being generous with the property of another, and to have engaged, by a ſolemn promiſe to all his ſubjects, never again to be ſo inattentive in the diſtribution of his favours.

In the Archonship of Aristodemus,

The 11th year of the 107th Olympiad,

(From the 3d of July of the year 352, to the 22d of July of the year 351, before Chriſt.)

Letter of Apollodorus.

I HAVE mentioned, in one of my former letters, that, to prevent the excurſions of Philip, and confine him to his own dominions, it had been reſolved to raiſe ſixty talents, and ſend into Thrace forty galleys, with a powerful army. After about

about eleven months employed in preparations, we have at laſt raiſed five talents *, and fitted out two galleys [o], the command of which was to be given to Charidemus. He was juſt ready to ſail, when a report was ſpread that Philip was ſick, that he was dead; on which we immediately diſarmed, while Philip immediately marched toward Thermopylæ. He was about to fall on Phocis [p], from whence he might eaſily have entered Attica, but fortunately we had a fleet on the neighbouring coaſt, which was conveying a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the Phocians. Nauſicles, their general, immediately landed them as ſoon as poſſible, and took poſſeſſion of the defile; on which Philip abandoned his deſign, and retired toward Macedonia [q].

We have been much elated at this event. Our allies have congratulated us on it, and we have decreed thankſgivings to the gods, and eulogiums to the troops [r]. Wretched city! in which to take poſſeſſion of a poſt without oppoſition is eſteemed an act of bravery, and to eſcape a defeat a ſubject of triumph!

Some days ſince, the general aſſembly took into conſideration our diſputes with the king of Mace-

* 27,000 livres (1,125 l.)

[o] Demoſth. Olynth. 3, p. 35.

[p] Diod. lib. 16, p. 437.

[q] Id. ibid. p. 436. Demoſth. Phil. 1, p. 49. Oroſ. lib. 3, cap. 12.

[r] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 306. Ulp. ibid. p. 365.

don. Demoſthenes aſcended the roſtrum [s], and painted in the ſtrongeſt colours the indolence and frivolity of the Athenians, the ignorance and abſurd meaſures of their leaders, and the ambition and activity of Philip.

He propoſed to fit out a fleet, to raiſe a body of troops, compoſed, at leaſt in part, of citizens [t], to carry the war into Macedonia, and not to terminate it, except by an advantageous treaty or a deciſive victory [u]. For, ſaid he, unleſs we ſpeedily attack Philip in his own dominions, it will probably not be long before he attacks us in ours [x]. He fixed the number of ſoldiers which it would be neceſſary to enrol, and propoſed means for providing for their ſubſiſtence.

Such meaſures would diſconcert the ſchemes of Philip, and prevent him from making war on us at the expence of our allies, whoſe ſhips he ſeizes with impunity [y]. They would at the ſame time reanimate the courage of thoſe who have been obliged to throw themſelves into his arms, and who bear the yoke of his alliance with that fear and hatred which the pride of an ambitious prince inſpires [z].

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[s] Demoſth. Philip. 1, p. 47.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 50.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 49.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 54.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 52.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 48.

Demoſthenes explained and enforced what he propoſed with equal perſpicuity and energy. He poſſeſſes that eloquence which compels his hearers to recognize themſelves and their conduct in the mortifying picture which he drew of their paſt errors and preſent ſituation.

"See," exclaimed he, "to what a height of audacity Philip has at length arrived[a]. He deprives you of the choice of war or peace, braves you with his menaces, and talks, as we are informed, in the moſt inſolent ſtyle. Not ſatisfied with his former acquiſitions, he is ſtill in purſuit of further conqueſts, and while we ſit down inactive and irreſolute, incloſes us on all ſides with his toils. When therefore, O my countrymen, when will you exert your vigour? When forced by ſome neceſſity. Juſt heaven! what more urgent neceſſity can there be to freemen than the diſgrace attendant on miſconduct? Will you perpetually walk about in the public places, each enquiring of the other, "What new advices?" Can any thing be more new than that a man of Macedon ſhould conquer the Athenians and give law to Greece?—Is Philip dead?—No; but dangerouſly ill.—How are you concerned in thoſe rumours? Even ſhould he die, you would ſoon raiſe up another Philip by your negligence and inertneſs.

[a] Demoſth. Philip. 1, p. 48.

"You loſe the time for action in frivolous deliberations. Your generals, inſtead of appearing at the head of your armies, parade in the proceſſions of your prieſts to add ſplendour to the public ceremonies [b]. Your armies are only compoſed of mercenaries, the dregs of foreign nations, vile robbers, who lead their chiefs rather than are led by them, ſometimes into the countries of your allies, of whom they are the terror, and ometimes to thoſe of the barbarians, who deprive you of them at the very time when you moſt want their aſſiſtance [c]. Indeciſion and confuſion prevail in all your preparations [d]: your projects have neither plan nor foreſight. You are the ſlaves of circumſtances, and opportunities perpetually eſcape you. Like unſkilful boxers, you never think of guarding againſt a blow till you have received it. If you hear that Philip is in the Cherſoneſus, immediately you paſs a decree to ſend forces thither. If he is ſaid to be at Thermopylæ, inſtantly another decree paſſes for the troops to march thither. You hurry up and down, and follow wherever he himſelf conducts you, but only arrive time enough to be witneſſes to his ſucceſs [e]."

The whole harangue is full of ſimilar ſtrokes. The ſtyle of Thucydides, which the orator pro-

[b] Demoſth. Philip. 1, p. 51.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 50.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 52.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 53.

poſed to himſelf as a model, it is ſaid, is diſtinctly perceivable in it[f]. As I left the aſſembly, I heard many of the Athenians laviſhing their praiſes on Demoſthenes, and enquiring what news from the Phocians.

You will perhaps put to me the ſame queſtion. They were ſuppoſed to be without reſource after the victory of Philip, but they have the treaſures of Delphi at their diſpoſal; and as they have increaſed the pay of their troops, they attract to their ſtandard all the mercenaries who ramble over Greece. The laſt campaign has produced nothing deciſive: they have loſt ſome battles, and they have gained ſome; they have ravaged the country of the Locrians, while their own has been laid waſte by the Thebans[g].

Our friends, who much regret your abſence, continue to meet from time to time at my houſe. Yeſterday evening the queſtion was propoſed, Why great men are ſo rare, and only appear at intervals? The debate on it continued a long time. Chryſophilus denied the fact, and maintained, that Nature does not favour one age or country more than another. Would fame, added he, ever have celebrated Lycurgus if he had been born a ſlave, or Homer if he had lived at a time when the language of his country was not

[f] Dionyſ. Halic. de Thucyd. Jud. cap. 53, t. vi. p. 944.
[g] Diod. lib. 16, p. 436, &c.

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yet formed? Who can affirm, that in our time, among civilized or barbarous nations, we might not find other Homers or Lycurguſes employed in the diſcharge of the vileſt functions? Nature, ever free and ever rich in her productions, ſcatters minds endowed with genius over the earth, but circumſtances alone can expand and perfect their powers.

In the Archonship of Thessalus,

The 2d year of the 107th Olympiad,

(From the 22d of July of the year 351, to the 11th of July of the year 350, before Chriſt.)

Letter of Apollodorus.

ARTEMISIA, queen of Caria, is dead; ſhe has ſurvived her brother and huſband Mauſolus only two years [h]. You know that Mauſolus was one of thoſe kings whom the court of Suſa keeps as it were in garriſon on the frontiers of the empire, to defend its entrance. It is ſaid, that his wife, who governed him, having gathered up his aſhes, mixed them, from an exceſs of affection, with her drink [i]. Her grief is alſo ſaid to

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[h] Died. Sic. lib. 16, p. 443.

[i] Aul. Gell. lib. 10, cap. 18. Val. Max. lib. 4, cap. 6, extern. No. 1.

have been the cauſe of her death[k]. She has however purſued, with no leſs ardour, the ambitious projects with which ſhe had inſpired him. By adding treachery[l] to a concurrence of ſome fortunate circumſtances, he acquired poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Cos, Rhodes, and ſeveral Grecian cities, and Artemiſia has retained them in obedience[m].

Obſerve, I entreat you, how falſe and fatal are the ideas which govern this world, and eſpecially thoſe which ſovereigns form to themſelves of power and glory. Had Artemiſia underſtood the true intereſts of her huſband, ſhe would have taught him to leave fraud and oppreſſion to extenſive empires, and to found his own power and honour on the happineſs of his province and the love of the people, who only aſk of their governors not to be treated as enemies. But ſhe wiſhed to make of him a ſpecies of conqueror. Both were laviſh of the blood and fortunes of their ſubjects[n]; and with what view? To embelliſh the little city of Halicarnaſſus, and render illuſtrious the memory of a petty viceroy of the king of Perſia.

Artemiſia neglected no means which ſhe imagined might beſtow immortality on her huſband.

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[k] Theopomp. ap. Harpocr. in Ἄρτεμ. Strab. lib. 14, p. 656. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 3, cap. 31, t. ii. p. 326.

[l] Demoſth. de Rhod. Libert. p. 144.

[m] Id. ibid. p. 147.

[n] Theop. ap. Harpocr. in Μαύσωλ.

She invited, by rewards, the moſt diſtinguiſhed men of genius to employ themſelves in recording the actions of Mauſolus. Poems and tragedies have been written in his honour, and the orators of Greece ſolicited to compoſe his eulogium. Many of them have entered the liſts [o], and Iſocrates and ſome of his diſciples have become competitors. Theopompus, who is employed in writing the hiſtory of Greece, has carried off the prize from his maſter, and had the weakneſs to boaſt of his ſucceſs [p]. I one day aſked him whether, while writing the panegyric of a man whoſe ſordid avarice had ruined ſo many families, the pen did not frequently drop from his hand [q]. He anſwered: I have now ſpoken as an orator; another time I ſhall ſpeak as an hiſtorian. Such is the falſehood and baſeneſs of which eloquence permits itſelf to be guilty, and which we have the meanneſs to pardon.

Artemiſia at the ſame time cauſed to be built for Mauſolus a tomb, which apparently will only immortalize the artiſts employed in its conſtruction. I have ſeen the plan of it: it is a long ſquare, four hundred and eleven feet in circuit. The principal part of the edifice, ſurrounded by thirty-ſix columns, is to be decorated on its four fronts

[o] Aul. Gell. lib. 10, cap. 18. Plut. X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 838. Suid. in Iſocr. Taylor, Lect. Lyſ. cap. 3.
[p] Theop. ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10, cap. 3, p. 464.
[q] Theop. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in Μαύσωλ.

by four of the moſt famous ſculptors in Greece, Briaxis, Scopas, Leochares, and Timotheus. Above is to be a pyramid, on which is to be placed a car with four horſes. The car will be of marble, and by the hand of Pythis. The total height of the monument is to be one hundred and forty feet [r] *.

It is already in great forwardneſs; and as Idrieus, who ſucceeds his ſiſter Artemiſia, does not intereſt himſelf ſo much as the late queen in its completion, the artiſts have declared that they will conſider it as an honour and duty to finiſh it without requiring any reward [s]. The foundations have been laid in the middle of an open place laid out by Mauſolus [t], on a piece of ground naturally diſpoſed in the form of a theatre, which extends in a deſcent to the ſea. The traveller, when he enters the harbour, cannot but ſurvey the ſcene which preſents itſelf with admiration. On one ſide is the royal palace, and on the other the temple of Venus and Mercury, ſituated near the fountain of Salmacis. In front the public market extends along the ſhore; beyond which is the open place above-mentioned; and ſtill farther the citadel and tem-

[r] Plin. lib. 36, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 728.

* If Pliny, in the deſcription of this edifice, made uſe of Grecian meaſures, the 411 feet in circuit will be reduced to 388 feet 2 inches French (413½ feet Eng.); and the 140 feet in height to 132 feet, 2 inches, 8 lines, French (140 feet 7 inches Eng.)

[s] Plin. ibid.

[t] Vitruv. lib. 2, cap. 8.

ple of Mars, on the top of which is a coloſſal ſtatue. The tomb of Mauſolus, intended to fix the eye after it has reſted a moment on theſe ſuperb edifices, will no doubt be one of the fineſt monuments in the world [u]; but it ſhould have been conſecrated to the memory of a benefactor to mankind.

Idrieus, when he aſcended the throne, received orders from Artaxerxes to ſend a body of auxiliaries againſt the kings of Cyprus, who have revolted. Phocion commands them in conjunction with Evagoras, who formerly reigned in that iſland. Their intention is to begin by the ſiege of Salamis [x].

The king of Perſia has more extenſive views: he is making preparations for the conqueſt of Egypt. I hope you will already have taken proper meaſures for your ſecurity. He has demanded troops from us, and from the other ſtates of Greece. We have refuſed him, and ſo alſo have the Lacedæmonians: it is ſufficient for us that we have let him have Phocion. The Grecian cities of Aſia have already promiſed him ſix thouſand men. Thebes will furniſh him with one thouſand, and Argos with three thouſand, which will be commanded by Nicoſtratus, an able general, but whoſe frenſy it is to imitate Hercules. In battle

[u] Vitruv. lib. 2, cap. 8. Strab. lib. 14, p. 656. Plin. ibid.
[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 440.

he wears a lion-ſkin over his ſhoulders, and carries a club in his hand. He is ſent by the particular deſire of Artaxerxes [y].

For ſome time paſt we have let out for hire our generals, ſoldiers, and ſailors, to the kings of Perſia, who have always been very deſirous to have Greeks in their ſervice, for whom they pay a great price. Various motives compel our republics to conſent to this traffic: the neceſſity of ridding themſelves of foreign mercenaries, whom the peace renders uſeleſs, and who are a burthen to the ſtate; the deſire of procuring for their citizens, impoveriſhed by war, a pay that may reſtore their fortunes; the fear of loſing the protection and alliance of the great king; and, laſtly, the hope of obtaining ſuch a pecuniary donation as may repleniſh the exhauſted public treaſury. The Thebans have juſt received from Artaxerxes [z] * the ſum of three hundred talents *. We are inſulted by a king of Macedon, and bought by a king of Perſia: are we not ſufficiently degraded?

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[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 442.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 438.
* 1,620,000 livres (67,500l.)

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF APOLLODORUS,

The 3d year of the 107th Olympiad,

(From the 11th of July of the year 350, to the 30th of June of the year 349, before Chriſt.)

We received the three following Letters on the ſame day.

LETTER OF NICETAS.

I LAUGH at the fears with which many people wiſh to inſpire us. The power of Philip can never be durable; it is only founded on perfidy, falſehood, and perjury[a]. He is deteſted by his allies, whom he has frequently deceived; by his ſubjects and ſoldiers, haraſſed and exhauſted by expeditions from which they derive no advantage; by the principal officers of his army, who are puniſhed if they do not ſucceed in an enterpriſe, and mortified if they do, for he is ſo jealous, that he would ſooner pardon them a ſhameful defeat than too brilliant ſucceſs. They live in mortal fear, ever expoſed to the ſlanders of the courtiers, and the envious ſuſpicions of a prince who has reſerved to himſelf all the glory that can be acquired in Macedon[b].

His kingdom is in a deplorable ſituation; its harveſts fail, its commerce is deſtroyed. Poor and

[a] Demoſth. Olynth. 2, p. 22. Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 7, p. 612. Juſtin. lib. 9, cap. 8.

[b] Demoſth. Olynth. 2, p. 23, et ad Philip. Epiſt. p. 118.

weak in itſelf, it is ſtill more enfeebled by its aggrandizement [c]. The ſlighteſt reverſe of fortune will overturn that proſperity which Philip owes only to the incapacity of our generals, and to the methods of corruption which he has ſo ſhamefully, but ſo ſucceſsfully, employed throughout Greece [d].

His partiſans extol his perſonal qualities; but I will repeat to you what I have heard from thoſe who have had opportunities to view him near, and obſervé his real character.

Propriety and regularity of manners cannot procure his eſteem, but vice is almoſt always rewarded with his friendſhip [e]. He diſdains the man who is only virtuous, repulſes the man of knowledge and experience who gives him advice [f], and courts flattery with as much eagerneſs as flattery courts other princes. Whoever would pleaſe, obtain his favour, and be admitted to his private parties, muſt have a conſtitution ſtrong enough to partake in his debauchery, and talents to amuſe him and excite his laughter. A few pleaſantries, ſtrokes of ſatire, witticiſms, verſes, and obſcene ſongs, are ſufficient to obtain his higheſt favour; on which account, if we except Antipater, Par-

[c] Demoſth. Olynth. 2, p. 23, et ad Philip. Epiſt. p. 118.
[d] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 334, 341, &c.
[e] Demoſth. Olynth. 2, p. 23. Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6, p. 260.
[f] Iſocr. Ep. ad Philip. t. i. p. 437.

menio, and two or three other men of merit, his court is only a wretched aſſembly of knaves, muſicians, poets, and buffoons [g], who applaud him right or wrong. Perſons of this deſcription throng to Macedon from every part of Greece.

Callias, who is ſo expert a buffoon; Callias, not long ſince the public ſlave of this city, from which he has been driven, is now one of his principal courtiers [h]. Agathocles, another ſlave, has raiſed himſelf to preferment by the ſame means; Philip, to reward him, has placed him at the head of a detachment of his troops [i]: and, laſtly, Thraſydæus, the ſilleſt and groſſeſt of flatterers, has juſt obtained a ſovereignty in Theſſaly [k].

Theſe deſpicable men are publicly called the friends of the king, and the ſcourges of Macedon [l]; their number is exceſſive, and their power boundleſs. Not ſatisfied with the treaſures which he laviſhes on them, they perſecute the honeſt citizens and deſpoil them of their property, or ſacrifice them to their revenge [m]. With them he riots in the moſt ſhameful intemperance, paſſing whole nights in drinking, almoſt continually intoxicated and furious, ſtriking every one who ap-

[g] Demoſth. Olynth. 2, p. 23. Theop. ibid. lib. 10, p. 439. Id. ap. Polyb. in Excerpt. Val. p. 21.
[h] Demoſth. Olynth. 2, p. 24.
[i] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6, cap. 17, p. 259.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 13, p. 249.
[l] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 19, p. 167.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 6, p. 260.

proaches him, and committing exceſſes which cannot be recollected without a bluſh [n].

It is not only within the walls of his palace that he thus degrades the dignity of the throne, but he diſhonours it in the face of nations. Have we not ſeen him, when lately he was among the Theſſalians, ſo famed for their intemperance, invite them to frequent entertainments, intoxicate himſelf with them, amuſe them with his pleaſantries, leap, dance, and act by turns the part of the buffoon and pantomime [o]?

No, Anacharſis, never can I believe that ſuch a ſtage-player was born to enſlave Greece.

Letter of Apollodorus.

Received on the ſame day with the preceding.

I CANNOT get rid of my fears for the preſent ſtate of Greece. In vain do I hear my countrymen boaſt of the number of its inhabitants, the valour of its ſoldiers, and the ſplendour of their ancient victories. In vain am I told that Philip will ſet bounds to his conqueſts, and that his enterpriſes have hitherto been coloured by ſpecious pretexts. I fear the inſufficiency of our means of defence, and I diſtruſt his real intentions.

The ſtates of Greece are enfeebled and corrupt-

[n] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6, p. 260; et lib. 10, cap. 10, p. 439.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 17, p. 260.

ed; they have no longer laws or citizens, any idea of real glory, or zeal for the good of the country: every where we only ſee vile mercenaries in the place of ſoldiers, and plunderers inſtead of generals.

Our republics will never unite againſt Philip. Some are engaged in a war which muſt complete their deſtruction, and others have nothing in common but jealouſies and claims which muſt prevent their union [p]. The example of Athens might perhaps make a greater impreſſion on them than their private intereſts; but here nothing is ſeen but feſtivals and ſhows. We endure the infults of Philip with the ſame courage as our forefathers braved dangers. The impetuous eloquence of Demoſthenes cannot rouſe us from our ſupineneſs. When I ſee him aſcend the roſtrum, I ſeem to hear him cry, amidſt the tombs of our ancient warriors: Ye extinct aſhes, ye dry bones, ariſe, and defend your country.

On the other ſide, obſerve that Philip, the ſingle confident of his own ſecrets, the ſole diſpenſer of his treaſures, the moſt able general of Greece, the braveſt ſoldier in his army, foreſees, conceives, and executes every thing himſelf; anticipates events, derives advantage from them when that is poſſible, and yields to them when to

[p] Demoſth. Philip. 4, p. 102. Id. de Coron. p. 475.

yield is neceſſary [q]. Remember that his troops are extremely well diſciplined [r]; that he exerciſes them inceſſantly; that in time of peace he makes them perform marches of three hundred ſtadia*, with arms and baggage [s]; that at all times he is at their head; that he removes them with an alarming expedition from one extremity of his kingdom to the other; and that they have learned of him to make no difference between ſummer and winter, between fatigue and reſt [t]. Recollect, that if the interior country of Macedonia exhibits marks of the calamities of war, he has found abundant reſources in the gold mines which appertain to him, in the ſpoils of the cities and ſtates he has conquered, and in the trade of the nations which begin to frequent the ports he has made himſelf maſter of in Theſſaly. Obſerve, that ſince he has been on the throne he has propoſed to himſelf but one object, which he has had the courage leiſurely to proſecute; that he takes no ſtep without mature reflection, nor proceeds to a ſecond till he is aſſured of the ſucceſs of the firſt; that he is beſides actuated by an inſatiable thirſt of glory, which he ſeeks in the midſt of dangers, in the thickeſt of the battle, and wherever it may be

[q] Demoſth. Olynth. 1, p. 1.
[r] Id. Olynth. 2, p. 23.
* More than eleven leagues.
[s] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 4, cap. 2, § 10.
[t] Demoſth. Philip. 4, p. 92. Id. ad Philip. Epiſt. p. 119.

deareſt purchaſed [u]. Remember, in fine, that his operations are always guided by times and places. The frequent revolts of the Thracians, Illyrians, and other barbarous nations, he quells with his victorious armies; while he attacks the ſtates of Greece with incurſions to try their ſtrength, apologies to juſtify his enterpriſes, artifices to divide and enfeeble them, and the poiſon of corruption to reduce them to ſlavery [x].

He has infected them with that deſtructive and fatal contagion which withers honour to the roots [y]: he retains in his pay the public orators, the principal citizens, and even entire cities. Sometimes he gives up his conqueſts to his allies, who thus become the inſtruments of his ambition till they may be made its victims [z]. As men of genius and abilities have always conſiderable influence on the public opinion, he maintains with them a conſtant correſpondence [a], and offers them an aſylum at his court when they are diſſatisfied with the treatment they receive from their country [b].

His partiſans are ſo numerous, and, when occaſion requires, ſo well ſeconded by his ſecret negociations, that, notwithſtanding the doubts which

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[u] Demoſth. Olynth. 2, p. 23.
[x] Id. de Cor. p. 475 et 482. Juſtin. lib. 9, cap. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 451.
[y] Demoſth. de Halon. p. 71. De Falſ. Leg. p. 334, 341, &c.
[z] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 315.
[a] Iſocr. Ep. ad Phil.
[b] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 414.

may be entertained of the regard he pays to his word or oath, and notwithſtanding all ought to be convinced that his hatred is leſs fatal than his friendſhip, the Theſſalians have not heſitated to throw themſelves into his arms, and many other ſtates wait only a fit opportunity to follow their example.

Yet an idea of feebleneſs is ſtill annexed to his power, becauſe we have as yet only ſeen it in its infancy. I have heard many perſons, and even men of good underſtanding, ſay, that the projects attributed to Philip are much beyond the ſtrength of his kingdom; as if the queſtion merely related to Macedonia, ſuch as it formerly was, and not rather to an empire which, during ten years, has been forming by progreſſive and conſolidated augmentations, and to a prince whoſe genius increaſes a hundred fold the reſources of his ſtates, and whoſe activity, no leſs aſtoniſhing, multiplies in the ſame proportion the number of his troops and the moments of his life.

In vain may we flatter ourſelves that this life is paſſed in licentiouſneſs and debauchery; in vain may calumny repreſent him to us as the moſt deſpicable and diſſolute of men [c]. The time which other ſovereigns loſe in the inſipidity of indolence he gives to his pleaſures; and that which they be-

[c] Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 22.

ſtow on their pleaſures he dedicates to the intereſts of his kingdom. Would to heaven, that inſtead of the vices attributed to him, he had other defects; that he was devoid of penetration, obſtinate in his opinions, inattentive in his choice of miniſters and generals, and that he conducted his enterpriſes without vigilance, or any regular plan! Philip has perhaps the defect of admiring men of wit, as if he himſelf did not poſſeſs more than any perſon. A ſtroke of pleaſantry may pleaſe, but cannot govern him.

In fine, our orators, to inſpire the people with confidence, inceſſantly tell them that a power founded on injuſtice and perfidy cannot ſubſiſt. Without doubt it could not, if other ſtates were not equally perfidious and unjuſt; but the reign of virtue is over, and it now appertains to force alone to govern mankind.

My dear Anacharſis, when I reflect on the aſtoniſhing progreſs which Philip has made in a few years, and when I think on that aſſemblage of eminent qualities and favourable circumſtances of which I have here given you the ſketch, I cannot avoid concluding that Philip was born to enſlave Greece.

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

Received on the ſame day with the two preceding letters.

I ADORE Philip: he loves glory, genius, women[d], and wine. On the throne he is the greateſt of kings[e], in ſociety the moſt amiable of men. How does he exhibit to advantage the wit of others; and how much are others enchanted with that which he himſelf diſplays! What eaſe and politeneſs in his manner! what taſte in all he ſays, and what grace in all he does!

The king of Macedon is ſometimes obliged to treat the vanquiſhed harſhly; but Philip is humane, mild, affable[f], and eſſentially good: I am ſure he is, for he wiſhes to be beloved[g]; and beſides I have heard it ſaid by I know not whom, perhaps by myſelf, that whoever is ſuch a friend to mirth and pleaſantry can never be baſe and cruel.

His anger is enkindled and extinguiſhed in a moment. Without gall or rancour, he is as much ſuperior to offence as to praiſe. Our orators load him with the moſt inſolent reproaches, and his ſubjects themſelves frequently tell him diſagreeable truths. He ſays that he is under obligations to the

[d] Athen. lib. 13, p. 578. Plut. Conjug. Præcept. t. ii, p. 141. Id. Apophth. p. 178.
[e] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1, cap. 26, t. iii, p. 203.
[f] Id. ibid.
[g] Juſtin. lib. 9, cap. 8.

former, becauſe they teach him to correct his faults[h]; and to the latter, becauſe they inſtruct him in his duties. A woman of the lower claſs of people came to him, entreating him to terminate her law-ſuit. I have not time, anſwered he. Why then do you continue on the throne? returned ſhe. He felt the force of this reply, and immediately not only heard and decided her ſuit, but ordered all the cauſes which were pending to be brought before him[i]. Another time he fell aſleep during the pleadings, and yet condemned one of the parties to pay a fine. "I appeal," exclaimed the perſon againſt whom he gave ſentence. "And to whom do you appeal?" "To the king, when more attentive." Immediately he reviſed the proceedings, acknowledged his error, and paid himſelf the fine he had impoſed[k].

Would you know whether he forgets the ſervices which have been rendered him: He had received ſome from Philon while he was a hoſtage at Thebes, ten years ago at leaſt. Not long ſince the Thebans ſent deputies to him, among the number of whom was Philon. The king wiſhed to load him with his favours[l]; and meeting only with refuſals, "Why," ſaid he, "do you envy me

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[h] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 179.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 178.
[l] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 314.

the glory and pleaſure of excelling you in conferring benefits [m] ?"

After the taking of a certain city, one of the priſoners who were put up to ſale claimed his friendſhip. The king, ſurpriſed, ordered him to be brought near him. He was ſitting, and the ſtranger whiſpered him: Let your robe fall lower, for your poſture at preſent is not decent. He is right, exclaimed Philip, he is my friend; let him be ſet at liberty [n].

I might relate to you a thouſand anecdotes of his mildneſs and moderation. His courtiers adviſed him ſeverely to puniſh Nicanor, who never ceaſed to blame his adminiſtration and his conduct: but he replied: "This man is not the worſt of the Macedonians, and perhaps I am in fault for having neglected him." He immediately enquired into his caſe, learned that Nicanor was irritated by his neceſſities, and afforded him relief. Nicanor afterward only ſpoke of him in terms of the higheſt eulogium; and Philip ſaid to his accuſers: "You now ſee that it depends on a king to cauſe or prevent the complaints of his ſubjects [o]." Some other perſon having indulged in ſevere but witty pleaſantries at his expence, the courtiers propoſed to the king to baniſh him. "I

[m] Plut. Apopth. t. ii. p. 178.
[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 177.

ſhall take care not to do that," ſaid Philip; "for he will then go and ſay every where elſe what he has ſaid here [p]."

At the ſiege of ſome town he had his collar-bone broken by a ſtone. The ſurgeon who dreſſed his wound aſked him to grant him a favour [q]. "I cannot refuſe you," ſaid Philip ſmiling; "for you have me by the throat *."

His court is the aſylum of genius and pleaſure; magnificence ſhines in his feſtivals, and wit and mirth preſide at his entertainments. These are facts. I trouble myſelf but little about his ambition. Can you ſuppoſe it any great misfortune to live under ſuch a prince? If he comes to attack us, we ſhall fight him; and if we are vanquiſhed, he will only require us to laugh and drink with him.

In the Archonship of Callimachus,

The 4th year of the 107th Olympiad,

(From the 30th of June of the year 349, to the 18th of July of the year 348, before Chriſt.)

WHILE we were in Egypt and Perſia, we availed ourſelves of every opportunity to tranſ-

[p] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177.

[q] Id. ibid.

* The original text ſays, "Take what you pleaſe, for you have the key in your hand." The Greek word which ſignifies the collar-bone, means alſo a key.

mit to our friends at Athens an account of what we had obſerved in our travels. Among all my papers I have only found the following fragment of a letter, which I wrote to Apollodorus ſome time after our arrival at Suſa, one of the capitals of Perſia.

Fragment of a Letter of Anacharsis.

WE have paſſed through ſeveral provinces of this vaſt empire. At Perſepolis, though our eyes have been for ſome years familiarized to the monuments of Egypt, we beheld with aſtoniſhment the tombs excavated in the rock to a prodigious elevation, and the palace of the Perſian kings. The latter, it is ſaid, was built near two centuries ago, under the reign of Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, by Egyptian workmen, whom Cambyſes had brought into Perſia[r]. A triple encloſure of walls, one of which is ſixty cubits high*; gates of braſs; innumerable columns, ſome ſeventy feet in height; large blocks of marble, ſculptured in bas-relief, and containing an infinite number of figures[s]; ſubterranean paſſages, in which are depoſited immenſe ſums; all diſplay magnifi-

[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 43.
* 85 French (or 90½ Engliſh) feet.
[s] Chardin. Corn. Le Bruyn, &c.

cence and fear, for this palace ſerves at the ſame time as a citadel [t].

The kings of Perſia have cauſed other palaces to be built, leſs ſumptuous indeed, but of wonderful beauty, at Suſa, Ecbatana, and in all the cities in which they paſs the different ſeaſons of the year.

They have alſo ſpacious parks which they call paradiſes [u], and which are divided into two parts. In the one, armed with arrows and javelins, they purſue, on horſeback, through the foreſts, the deer which are ſhut up in them [u*]; and in the other, in which the art of gardening has exhauſted its utmoſt efforts, they cultivate the moſt beautiful flowers, and gather the moſt delicious fruits. They are not leſs attentive to adorn theſe parks with ſuperb trees, which they commonly diſpoſe in the form called quincunx [x]. In various places we meet with ſimilar paradiſes, which appertain to the ſatraps or the grandees [y].

But our attention was ſtill more engaged by the conſpicuous protection and encouragement which the ſovereign grants to agriculture, and that not by ſome tranſient favours and rewards, but an enlightened vigilance, more powerful than edicts and

[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 17, p. 544.
[u] Brif. de Regn. Perſ. lib. 1, p. 109.
[u*] Xenoph. de Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 1, p. 11.
[x] Id. Memor. lib. 5, p. 829.
[y] Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 1, p. 246. Quint. Curt. lib. 8, cap. 1.

laws. He appoints over every diſtrict two ſuperintendants, one for military and the other for civil affairs. The office of the former is to preſerve the public tranquillity, and that of the latter to promote the progreſs of induſtry and agriculture. If one of theſe ſhould not diſcharge his duty, the other may complain of him to the governor of the province, or the ſovereign himſelf, who, from time to time, viſits a part of his dominions. If the monarch ſees the country covered with trees, harveſts, and all the productions of which the ſoil is capable, he heaps honours on the two officers, and enlarges their government; but if he finds the lands uncultivated, they are directly diſplaced, and others appointed in their ſtead. Commiſſioners of incorruptible integrity exerciſe the ſame juſtice in the diſtricts through which the ſovereign does not paſs *.

In Egypt we had often heard ſpeak with the greateſt eulogiums of that Arſames whom the king of Perſia had for many years paſt called to his councils. In the ports of Phœnicia we were ſhewn citadels newly built, a number of ſhips of war on the ſtocks, and timber and rigging which had been brought from various places. For theſe advantages the empire is indebted to the vigilance of Arſames. Some induſtrious citizens ſaid to us: Our commerce was threatened with ſpeedy ruin,

* Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 828.

but the wiſe meaſures of Arſames have re-eſtabliſhed it. We were informed, at the ſame time, that the important iſland of Cyprus, after having long experienced the evils of anarchy[a], had ſubmitted to the king of Perſia; and that this alſo was to be aſcribed to the wiſe politics of Arſames. In the interior parts of the empire, ſome aged officers ſaid to us, with tears in their eyes: We have ſerved the king faithfully, but, in the diſtribution of his favours, we were forgotten. We addreſſed ourſelves to Arſames, though he was unknown to us; and he has procured us a comfortable old age, without ſpeaking of his benefactions to any perſon. An individual added, Arſames, prejudiced againſt me by my enemies, believed it his duty to lay on me the rigorous hand of authority; but ſoon after, being convinced that I was innocent, he ſent for me, and I found him much more afflicted at what had paſſed than I was myſelf. He entreated me to aſſiſt him to make reparation for an act of injuſtice which rent his heart, and made me promiſe to have recourſe to him whenever I ſhould have need of protection; nor have I ever ſolicited him in vain.

His ſecret influence every where inſpires all minds with activity. Military men felicitate themſelves on the emulation which he maintains among

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 440.

them, and the people on the peace which he has negociated for them, notwithſtanding almoſt inſurmountable obſtacles. In fine, the nation has, by his prudence, been again raiſed to that high rank of reſpectability among foreign powers which it had loſt by unfortunate wars.

Arſames is no longer in the miniſtry; he paſſes a peaceful life at his country ſeat, about forty paraſangs diſtant from Suſa. His friends ſtill remain attached to him: thoſe whoſe merit he has called into action remember his benefactions or his promiſes; and all frequent his palace with more aſſiduity than if he were ſtill in place.

Chance has conducted us to his charming retreat, and his kindneſs retained us there during ſeveral months; nor do I know when we ſhall be able to leave a ſociety which Athens could only equal at the time when politeneſs, propriety, and good taſte, reigned moſt unrivalled in that city.

This ſociety conſtitutes the happineſs of Arſames, and he is its delight and ornament. His converſation is animated, eaſy, and intereſting; frequently enlivened with ſallies which eſcape him with ſurpriſing facility and rapidity, and ever embelliſhed by the Graces, and a gaiety which, like his happineſs, is communicated to all about him. His diſcourſe is entirely free from all claims of ſuperiority or unſuitable and affected expreſſions; in the midſt of the greateſt eaſe and negligence he

obſerves the moſt perfect politeneſs, and his ſtyle is that of a man who poſſeſſes, in the moſt eminent degree, the gift of pleaſing, and the moſt exquiſite diſcernment of propriety.

This happy union when he finds it, or imagines that he has found it, in others, particularly impreſſes him in their favour. He liſtens with an obliging attention; he applauds with tranſport a ſally of wit, provided it be rapid; a novel thought, if it be juſt; and a great ſentiment, if it be not exaggerated.

In the intercourſe of friendſhip, his agreeable qualities, ſtill more diſplayed, ſeem every inſtant to ſhew themſelves for the firſt time. He exhibits in his leſs intimate connections a facility of manners of which Ariſtotle had conceived the model. We often meet with minds ſo feeble, ſaid he to me one day, that they approve every thing, that they may offend no perſon; and others who approve nothing, at the riſk of diſpleaſing every one [b]. There is a medium between theſe two kinds of behaviour, for which our language has no name, becauſe very few people are able to attain to it. It is a natural diſpoſition, which, without having the reality, poſſeſſes the appearances, and in ſome degree the charms, of friendſhip. He who is endowed with it, equally avoids to flatter or offend the ſelf-love of any perſon. He pardons weak-

[b] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 54.

neſſes, endures defects, is not eager to hold up every abſurdity to ridicule, or forward to give advice, and knows how ſo properly to proportion the attention and regard which he teſtifies for others[c], that all with whom he converſes believe they have obtained from him that degree of affection or eſteem of which they are deſirous.

Such is the charm which attracts and ſecures the hearts of all who approach Arſames. It is a ſpecies of general benevolence, the more inviting with him, as it is united, without an effort, to the ſplendour of glory and the ſimplicity of modeſty. One day an opportunity offered to ſpeak, in his preſence, of his great qualities: he haſtened to expoſe his defects. Another time, when the converſation turned on ſome meaſures of which he had the direction during his miniſtry, we wiſhed to ſpeak of the ſucceſs of his plans, but he himſelf only ſpoke of the miſtakes he had committed.

His heart, eaſily moved, is inflamed at the relation of a noble action, and affected in the moſt lively manner by the ſufferings of the unfortunate, whoſe gratitude he excites without exacting it. In his houſe, and around his eſtate, are found numerous inſtances of the exertion of that generous beneficence which prevents all wiſhes, and ſatisfies all wants. Already lands which had been abandoned

[c] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4, cap. 14, p. 56.

are covered with harveſts, and the poor inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, whoſe ſolicitations are anticipated by his benefits, pay him a tribute by which he is much more affected than by their reſpect.

My dear Apollodorus, it is the province of hiſtory to celebrate, in the diſtinguiſhed manner which he merits, a miniſter who, in poſſeſſion of unlimited favour from his ſovereign, and retaining no kind of flatterers in his pay, has laboured ſingly for the glory and happineſs of his nation. I have communicated to you the firſt impreſſions which he made on us, and ſhall perhaps hereafter tranſmit to you other particulars of his character. You will no doubt pardon me this: travellers ought not to neglect ſuch inſtructive details; for certainly the deſcription of a great man is well worth that of a ſumptuous edifice.

Letter of Apollodorus.

YOU know that in the neighbourhood of the dominions of Philip, in maritime Thrace, a country called Chalcidice extends along the ſea-ſhore, where formerly ſettled ſeveral Greek colonies, of which the principal is Olynthus; a ſtrong, opulent, and very populous city, which, ſituated in part on an eminence, attracts from far the eye of

of the traveller, by the extent of its walls, and the beauty of its edifices [d].

Its inhabitants have more than once exhibited the moſt ſignal proofs of courage. When Philip aſcended the throne they were on the point of concluding an alliance with us; but he contrived to prevent this by ſeducing us by his promiſes, and them by his favours [e]. He increaſed their territories by ceding to them Anthemus and Potidæa, of which he had made himſelf maſter [f]. Moved by this generoſity, they have ſuffered him, during ſeveral years, to increaſe his power without oppoſition; and if by accident they have taken any umbrage at it, he has immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to them, who, ſupported by the numerous partiſans which he takes care to keep in pay in that city, have eaſily quieted theſe tranſient alarms [g].

Their eyes have at length been opened, and they have reſolved to enter into an alliance with us [h]. They have beſides for a long time refuſed to deliver up to the king two of his brothers by another mother, who had fled to them for refuge, and who might aſſert claims to the throne of Macedon [i]. He now employs theſe pretexts to com-

[d] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 63. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 412.
[e] Demoſth. Olynth. 2, p. 22.
[f] Id. Philip. 2, p. 66. Philip. 4, p. 104.
[g] Id. Philip. 3, p. 87 et 93.
[h] Id. Olynth. 3, p. 36, &c.
[i] Juſtin. lib. 8, cap. 3. Oroſ. lib. 3, cap. 12, p. 172.

plete the deſign which he has long conceived of adding Chalcidice to his dominions. He has obtained poſſeſſion, without difficulty, of ſome cities of the country, and the reſt will ſoon fall into his hands [h]. Olynthus is threatened with a ſiege, and has ſent deputies to ſolicit our aſſiſtance. Demoſthenes has ſpoken in their behalf [i], and the aſſembly has adopted his opinion, in deſpite of the oppoſition of Demades, an eloquent orator, but ſuſpected of maintaining a correſpondence with Philip [k].

Chares had ſet ſail with thirty galleys and two thouſand light-armed troops [l]. On the coaſt near to Olynthus, he met with a ſmall body of mercenaries, in the ſervice of the king of Macedon; and, contented with having put them to flight, and taken their leader, ſurnamed *the cock*, returned to enjoy his triumph at home. The Olynthians have not been ſuccoured; but, after ſome ſacrifices, by way of thankſgiving, our general has given an entertainment to the people in the forum [m], who, in the intoxication of their joy, have decreed him a crown of gold.

The Olynthians in the mean time having ſent to us other deputies, we have diſpatched to their

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[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 450.

[i] Demoſth. Olynth. Plut. X. Rhetor. Vit. t. ii. p. 845.

[k] Suid. in Δημάδ.

[l] Philoch. ap. Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad Amm. de Demoſth. et Ariſt. cap. 9, t. vi. p. 734.

[m] Theop. et Duris, ap. Athen. lib. 12, cap. 8, p. 532. Argum. Olynth. 3, ap. Demoſth. p. 34.

aſſiſtance eighteen galleys, four thouſand foreign light-armed ſoldiers, and a hundred and fifty horſes [n], under the command of Charidemus, who excels Chares only in villany. After having ravaged the neighbouring country, he has entered the city, where he every day ſignalizes himſelf by his intemperance and debauchery [o].

Though many people here maintain that this war is foreign to us [p], I am perſuaded that nothing can be of more importance to Athens than the preſervation of Olynthus. Should Philip obtain poſſeſſion of that city, what can prevent him from immediately invading Attica? We have only between him and us the Theſſalians who are his allies, the Thebans who are our enemies, and the Phocians who are too weak even to defend themſelves [q].

Letter of Nicetas.

I EXPECTED that Philip would take ſome imprudent ſtep. After having long been careful to remain on good terms with the Olynthians, whom he feared [r], he has ſuddenly advanced

[n] Philoch. ap. Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad Amm. de Demoſth. et Ariſt. cap. 9, t. vi. p. 734.
[o] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 10, p. 436.
[p] Ulpian. in Demoſth. Olynth. 1, p. 6.
[q] Demoſth. Olynth. 1, p. 4.
[r] Id. Olynth. 3, p. 36.

within forty ſtadia * of their city; and when they ſent deputies to him to demand what were his intentions, his anſwer was: "You muſt either quit your city, or I my kingdom [r]." He has then forgotten that, not long ſince, the Olynthians compelled his father Amyntas to cede to them a part of his territories, and that they afterwards made an obſtinate reſiſtance to his arms, when reinforced by thoſe of the Lacedæmonians, whoſe aſſiſtance he had implored [s].

It is ſaid that immediately on his arrival he has defeated them. But how will he be able to force thoſe walls which art has fortified, and which are defended by a whole army? This conſiſts, firſt, of ten thouſand infantry and a thouſand cavalry, raiſed in Chalcidice; and next, of a number of brave warriors whom the beſieged have received from their ancient allies [t]: add to theſe the troops of Charidemus, and the new reinforcement of two thouſand heavy-armed infantry and three hundred cavalry, all Athenians, which we have juſt ſent off [u].

Philip would never have engaged in this enterpriſe had he foreſeen its conſequences. He had imagined that he ſhould carry all before him at the

* About a league and a half.

[r] Demoſth. Philip. 3, p. 87.

[s] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, p. 559. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 341.

[t] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 335.

[u] Philoch. ap. Dionyſ. Halic. ap. Amm. de Demoſth. cap. 9, t. vi. p. 735.

firſt onſet. He is likewiſe preyed on by another ſecret diſquietude. The Theſſalians, his allies, will ſoon be among the number of his enemies. He had taken from them the city of Pagaſæ; they demand it to be reſtored: he intended to fortify Magneſia; they oppoſe his deſign: he received certain duties in their ports and markets; they propoſe to reſerve them to themſelves; and if he is deprived of them, how will he pay that numerous army of mercenaries which conſtitutes his whole ſtrength? It is preſumed, on the other hand, that the Illyrians and Pæonians, little accuſtomed to ſervitude, will ſoon ſhake off the yoke of a prince whoſe victories have rendered him inſolent [x].

What would we not have given to have engaged the Olynthians againſt him! The event has exceeded our moſt ſanguine hopes. You will doubtleſs ſoon learn that the power and glory of Philip have been daſhed to atoms againſt the ramparts of Olynthus.

Letter of Apollodorus.

PHILIP maintained a correſpondence in Eubœa, ſecretly conveyed troops thither, and already had gained poſſeſſion of the greater part of

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[x] Demoſth. Olynth. 1, p. 4.

its cities. Maſter of that iſland, he would ſoon have been ſo of all Greece. At the requeſt of Plutarchus of Eretria, we ſent off Phocion, with a ſmall number of troops, cavalry and infantry [y]. We relied on the partiſans of liberty, and the foreigners whom Plutarchus had in his pay. But corruption had made ſo great a progreſs, that the whole iſland roſe againſt us, Phocion was in the moſt imminent danger, and we were obliged to make the remainder of the cavalry march to his aſſiſtance [z].

Phocion occupied an eminence which was ſeparated by a deep ditch from the plain of Tamyna [a]. The enemy, who had for ſome time held him beſieged, reſolved at length to drive him from his poſt. He ſaw them advance, and ſtill continued quiet; but Plutarchus, in contempt of his orders, quitted his entrenchments at the head of the foreign troops, was followed by our cavalry, and both, attacking in diſorder, were put to flight. The whole camp ſhuddered with indignation; but Phocion reſtrained the courage of his ſoldiers, under pretence that the auſpices were not favourable. The moment however that he ſaw the enemy break down the ramparts of the camp, he gave the ſignal for the attack, briſkly repulſed

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[y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747.
[z] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 629.
[a] Plut. ibid.

them, and purſued them into the plain: the action was bloody, and the victory complete. The orator Æſchines brought us the news of this battle, in which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf [b].

Phocion has driven from Eretria that Plutarchus who tyranniſed over it, and from Eubœa all the petty deſpots who had ſold themſelves to Philip. He has placed a garriſon in the fort of Zaretra, to ſecure the independence of the iſland, and, after a campaign which all thoſe who are acquainted with military affairs highly admire, has returned again to mix undiſtinguiſhed with the other citizens of Athens.

The two following anecdotes will prove his wiſdom and humanity. Before the battle he forbad his officers to prevent deſertion, which he ſaid would clear the army of a multitude of cowardly and mutinous ſoldiers. After his victory he ordered that all the Greek priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, leſt the people ſhould take revenge on them by ſome act of cruelty [c].

In one of our late converſations, Theodorus entertained us with a diſcourſe on the nature and motion of the celeſtial bodies. The only compliment however which Diogenes paid him was by aſking him whether it was long ſince he came down from heaven [d]. Panthion afterward read to

[b] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 422.
[c] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747.
[d] Diog. Laert. lib. 6, § 39.

us a work of exceſſive length. Diogenes, who ſat near him, from time to time caſt his eyes on the manuſcript, and perceiving that he approached the end, ſuddenly exclaimed: "Land, land, my friends! have patience but a moment longer[e]."

Soon after, ſome perſon aſked by what ſigns a traveller may know, immediately on his arrival in any city, that education is neglected there. Plato anſwered: "If he finds that phyſicians and judges are neceſſary[f]."

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF THEOPHILUS,

The firſt year of the 108th Olympiad,

(From the 18th of July of the year 348, to the 8th of July of the year 347, before Chriſt.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

A FEW days ſince, walking without the Thracian gate, we ſaw a man on horſeback arrive, riding full ſpeed. We ſtopped him, and enquired whence he came, and whether he knew any thing concerning the ſiege of Olynthus. I have been to Potidæa, anſwered he, and on my return I no longer ſaw Olynthus[g]. At theſe words he left us,

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[e] Diog. Laert. lib. 6, § 38. Etymol. in Γάγαι.
[f] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 405.
[g] Agath. ap. Phoc. p. 1335.

and in a moment was out of ſight. We returned into the city, and found it in univerſal conſternation at the calamitous fate which has befallen Olynthus.

That city is no more: its riches, its forces, its allies, and the fourteen thouſand men which we ſent to its aid at different times, all have not been able to ſave it [h]. Philip, repulſed on every aſſault, daily loſt numbers of his men [i]; but traitors which it contained within its walls every day haſtened the moment of its ruin. The king of Macedon had purchaſed by bribes both its magiſtrates and its generals. The principal of theſe, Euthycrates and Laſthenes, delivered into his hands at one time five hundred horſemen whom they commanded [k]; and, after other acts of treachery not leſs fatal, gave him entrance into the city, which was immediately given up to pillage. Houſes, porticos, temples, every thing has been deſtroyed by fire and ſword, and ſoon it will ſcarcely be known where Olynthus formerly ſtood [l]. Philip has cauſed the inhabitants to be ſold for ſlaves, and put to death two of his brothers, who had for ſeveral years made that city their aſylum [m]

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[h] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 335. Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Amm. t. vi. p. 736.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 450.
[k] Demoſth. ibid.
[l] Id. Phil. 3, p. 89. Strab. lib. 2, p. 121. Diod. ibid.
[m] Oroſ. lib. 3, cap. 12. Juſtin. lib. 8, cap. 3.

All Greece is alarmed, and fears for its power and liberty[n]. Every place is ſurrounded by ſpies and enemies, and how may it be poſſible to guard againſt the univerſal venality? How ſhall we defend ourſelves againſt a prince who has often ſaid, and who has proved his words by facts, that there are no walls which a beaſt of burden laden with gold will not eaſily make his way over[o]. Other nations have applauded the thundering decrees which we have enacted againſt thoſe who have betrayed the Olynthians[o*]. We muſt likewiſe do juſtice to the conquerors who, indignant at this act of perfidy, openly upbraided the principal perſons concerned in it with their guilt, and called them traitors to their country. Euthycrates and Laſthenes complained of their behaviour to Philip, who ſarcaſtically replied: "The Macedonian ſoldiers are very rude and unpoliſhed, they will call a ſpade a ſpade[p]*."

While the Olynthians, laden with chains, watered with their tears the aſhes of their country, or were driven in crowds along the public roads at the pleaſure of their new maſters[q], Philip dared to offer up thanks to heaven for the evils of which

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[n] Agath. ap. Phoc. p. 1334.

[o] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178. Cicer. ad Attic. lib. 1. Epiſt. 16, t. viii. p. 75.

[o*] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 335.

[p] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178.

* Theſe are the exact words of Plutarch, though the proverbial expreſſion is not retained in the French.

[q] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 341.

he had been the author, and celebrated ſuperb games in honour of the Olympian Jupiter[r]. He had invited to the entertainment, which concluded this odious feſtival, the moſt celebrated artiſts and the moſt diſtinguiſhed actors. There, in the intoxication of victory and pleaſure, the king anticipated or ſatisfied the wiſhes of all preſent, and laviſhed on them his favours or his promiſes. Satyrus, the excellent comic actor, kept a mournful ſilence; which the king perceiving, reproached him with his melancholy: "Is it," ſaid he, "becauſe you doubt of my generoſity or my eſteem? Have you no favour to ſolicit?" "I could aſk one," replied Satyrus, "which depends entirely on you; but I fear a refuſal." "Speak," ſaid Philip, "and be certain you ſhall obtain whatever you requeſt."

"The cloſeſt connections of hoſpitality and friendſhip," replied the actor, "ſubſiſted between myſelf and Apollophanes of Pydna. He was put to death on a falſe accuſation, and left only two daughters, yet very young. Their relations ſent them to Olynthus, as a place of ſecurity; they are now in chains, their fate depends on you, and I venture to ſolicit their liberty. I have no other intereſt in this than the preſerva-

[r] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 322. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 420. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 451.

tion of their honour. My intention is to give them marriage portions, to chooſe them huſbands, and to prevent their doing any thing unworthy of their father and of his friend." The whole banqueting-hall reſounded with the applauſes which Satyrus merited; and Philip, more affected than any other perſon, immediately commanded the two young captives to be ſet at liberty, and delivered to Satyrus. This act of clemency is the more noble, as Apollophanes was accuſed of having been one of the conſpirators who deprived Alexander, the brother of Philip, of his life and crown.

I have not mentioned the war of the Phocians; it ſtill continues, without any remarkable incidents having taken place: Heaven grant it may not terminate like that of the Olynthians!

Letter of Nicetas.

My expectations have, I own, been totally diſappointed by the calamitous termination of the ſiege of Olynthus; becauſe it was impoſſible I ſhould foreſee the deplorable blindneſs of the people of that city. Their ruin is ſolely to be attributed to their not having exterminated the party of Philip in its birth. They had at the head of their cavalry Apollonides, an able general, and an ex-

cellent citizen, whom they ſuddenly baniſhed [s], becauſe the partiſans of Philip had contrived to render him ſuſpected. Laſthenes and his aſſociate Euthycrates, whom they appointed in his place, had received from Macedon timber, herds of oxen, and other riches, which they were in no condition to acquire. Their connection with Philip was glaring, yet the Olynthians could not perceive it. During the ſiege, their leaders manifeſtly acted in concert with the king, yet the Olynthians ſtill placed full confidence in them. It was univerſally known that Philip had ſubjected the cities of Chalcidice more by bribes than the force of his arms, yet this example was loſt on the Olynthians [t].

The fate of Euthycrates and Laſthenes, it is to be hoped, will in future terrify thoſe who might be baſe enough to be guilty of ſimilar treachery. Theſe two wretches have periſhed miſerably [u]. Philip, who deſpiſes though he employs traitors, has thought proper to deliver them up to the outrages of the ſoldiers, who have at laſt torn them in pieces.

The taking of Olynthus, inſtead of deſtroying our hopes, has ſerved only to raiſe them. Our orators have kindled all the ardour of the love of

[s] Demoſth. Phil. 3, p. 93 et 94.
[t] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 335.
[u] Id. de Cherſon. p. 89.

liberty in the minds of the people. We have ſent off a great number of ambaſſadors [x], every where to endeavour to excite enemies againſt Philip, and to procure a general aſſembly of the Grecian ſtates to deliberate on the war. It is to be held here. Æſchines is gone to the Arcadians, who have promiſed to accede to the league. The other ſtates are beginning to be in motion, and all Greece will ſoon be under arms.

The republic is no longer ſolicitous to preſerve appearances. Beſides the decrees which we have paſſed againſt thoſe whoſe treachery has been the occaſion of the deſtruction of Olynthus, we have publicly received ſuch of the inhabitants as have been able to make their eſcape from its flames, and from ſlavery [y]. By theſe vigorous meaſures, Philip will perceive that the diſpute between him and us can no longer be carried on by furtive attacks, remonſtrances, negociations, and projects of peace.

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[x] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 295. Æſchin. ibid. p. 404. Id. in Cteſiph. p. 437. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 450.
[y] Senec. in Excerpt. Controv. t. iii. p. 516.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

The 15th of Thargelion *.

YOU will ſhare in our grief: an unexpected death has deprived us of Plato, who died on the 7th of this month †, on his birth-day [z]. He had not been able to avoid going to a marriage entertainment to which he was invited [a]. I ſat next him. He only ate, as was frequently his cuſtom, a few olives [b]. Never was he more agreeable, or in greater apparent health; but at the very moment I was congratulating him on this, he was taken ill, and ſunk into my arms in a ſtate of inſenſibility. All the aſſiſtance we could afford him was ineffectual. We cauſed him to be carried home, where we ſaw on his table the laſt lines he had written but a ſhort time before [c], and the corrections which he had made at intervals in his treatiſe on the republic [d]. Theſe we watered with

* The 25th of May of the year 347 before Chriſt.

† The 17th of May of the year 347 before Chriſt. I do not give this date as certain: it is well known that chronologiſts are divided concerning the year and the day on which Plato died; but it appears that the difference can only be a few months. (See Dodwel de Cycl. Diſſert. 10, p. 609; as alſo a diſſertation by father Corſini, inſerted in a collection of pieces, entitled, Symbolæ Literariæ, t. vi. p. 80.)

[z] Diog. Laert. in Plat. lib. 3, § 2. Senec. Ep. 58.

[a] Hermip. ap. Diog. Laert. ibid.

[b] Diog. Laert. lib. 6, § 25.

[c] Cicer. de Senect. cap. 5, t. iii. p. 298.

[d] Dionyſ. Halic. de Comp. Verb. cap. 25, p. 209. Quintil. Inſtit. lib. 8, cap. 6, p. 529. Diog. Laert. lib. 3, § 37.

our tears. The regret of the public, and the ſincereſt ſorrow of his friends, have accompanied him to the tomb. He was buried near the academy [e]. He had exactly completed his eighty-firſt year [f].

His will contains the ſtate of his effects [g], which is as follows: two country houſes; three minæ in ready money *; four ſlaves; two ſilver veſſels, the one weighing 165 drachmas, and the other 45; a gold ring, and an ear-ring of the ſame metal, which he wore when a child [h]. He declares that he left no debt [i]. He bequeaths one of his country houſes to the ſon of Adimantus his brother; and gives liberty to Diana, whoſe zeal and ſervices merited this proof of his gratitude. He has regulated every thing concerning his funeral and his tomb [k]. Speuſippus, his nephew, is appointed one of his executors, and is to ſucceed him at the academy.

Among his papers have been found letters on philoſophical ſubjects. He had more than once told us that, when in Sicily, he had ſome ſlight

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[e] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 30, p. 76.

[f] Diog. Laert. lib. 3, § 2. Cicer. ibid. Senec. Ep. 58, t. ii. p. 207. Cenſor. de Die Nat. cap. 14 et 15. Lucian in Macrob. t. iii. p. 223. Val. Max. lib. 8, cap. 7, &c.

[g] Diog. Laert. lib. 3, § 41.

* 270 livres (11l. 5s.)

[h] Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 1, cap. 12, p. 271.

[i] Diog. Laert. lib. 3, § 41.

[k] Dioſcor. ap. Athen. lib. 11, cap. 15, p. 507.

conver-

converſations with the younger Dionyſius, king of Syracuſe, on the nature of the firſt principle and the origin of evil; and that Dionyſius, joining with theſe imperfect notions his own ideas, and thoſe of ſome other philoſophers, had publiſhed them in a work, which only diſplays his ignorance [1].

Some time after the return of Plato, the king ſent to him the philoſopher Archedemus, requeſting him to diſpel the doubts by which he was diſturbed. Plato, in his anſwer, which I have juſt read, dares not explain himſelf openly on the firſt principle [m], being fearful that his letter might miſcarry. What he adds has greatly aſtoniſhed me: I ſhall here give you the ſubſtance of it.

"You aſk me, ſon of Dionyſius, what is the cauſe of the evils which afflict the univerſe. One day, in your garden, beneath the ſhade of ſome laurel-trees [n], you told me that you had diſcovered it. I anſwered you that I had been employed all my life in the inveſtigation of this queſtion, and that I had not yet found any perſon who was able to reſolve it. I ſuſpect that, ſtruck with a firſt ray of light, you have given up yourſelf to the proſecution of theſe reſearches with new ardour, but that, having no fixed principles, you have ſuffered your

[1] Plat. Epiſt. 7, t. iii. p. 341.
[m] Id. Epiſt. 2, t. iii. p. 312.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 313.

reaſon, without curb or guide, to purſue falſe appearances. You are not the only one to whom this has happened. All thoſe to whom I have communicated my doctrines have at firſt been more or leſs diſquieted by ſimilar doubts. I now ſend you what may aſſiſt you to diſſipate yours. Archedemus brings you my firſt anſwer; you will meditate on it at your leiſure, and compare it with thoſe of other philoſophers. If new difficulties ſhould occur, Archedemus will return, and by the time he has made two or three voyages you will find your doubts diſappear.

"But beware not to ſpeak publicly on theſe ſubjects, for what ſome admire with enthuſiaſm is to others an object of contempt and ridicule. My opinions, ſubjected to a long and careful examination, come forth like gold purified in the crucible. I have known ingenuous minds, who, after thirty years meditation, have at length confeſſed that they had obtained evidence and certitude, where, during ſo long a time, they had only found uncertainty and obſcurity. But I have already told you ſo exalted a ſubject ought only to be treated in private converſation. I never have delivered, nor ever will publiſh in writing, my real ſentiments. I have only given to the world thoſe of Socrates. Adieu; follow my advice, and burn this letter, after having read it ſeveral times."

What! the writings of Plato do not contain his

real ſentiments on the origin of evil! and has he made it a duty to conceal them from the public, when he has ſo eloquently explained the ſyſtem of Timæus of Locris! You know well that in that work Socrates does not teach, but only liſtens. What then is that myſterious doctrine of which Plato ſpeaks? To which of his diſciples has he confided it? Has he ever ſpoken of it to you? I am loſt in a multiplicity of conjectures.

The death of Plato has been the occaſion of our ſuffering another loſs which I feel moſt ſenſibly. Ariſtotle leaves us, on account of ſome diſguſt, which I will explain to you at your return. He is gone to reſide under the patronage of the eunuch Hermias, whom the king of Perſia has appointed governor of the city of Atarnea in Myſia [o]. I regret his friendſhip, his knowledge, and his converſation. He has promiſed me to return; but how great is the difference between enjoyment and expectation! Alas! he was himſelf uſed to ſay, after Pindar, that hope is only the dream of a waking man [p]. I once applauded his definition, but I now wiſh to find it falſe.

I am ſorry that I have not more carefully collected and treaſured in my memory his repartees. Diſcourſing once concerning friendſhip, he on a

[o] Diog. Laert. in Ariſtot. lib. 5, § 9. Dionyſ. Halicar. Epiſt. ad Amm. cap. 5, t. vi. p. 728.
[p] Diog. ibid. § 18. Stob. Serm. 10, p. 581.

ſudden pleaſantly exclaimed: "Oh, my friends! friends are not to be found[m]." Some one aſking him what was the uſe of philoſophy, he replied: "To teach us to do voluntarily what the fear of the laws would compel us to do[n]." Whence is it, ſaid ſomebody to him, yeſterday, at my houſe, that we ſo unwillingly leave the company of handſome perſons? "That," ſaid he, "is the queſtion of a blind man[o]." But you have frequently converſed with him; and know that though he poſſeſſed more extenſive knowledge than any other perſon in the world, yet his knowledge was perhaps ſtill excelled by his wit.

In the Archonship of Themistocles,

The 2d year of the 108th Olympiad,

(From the 8th of July of the year 347, to the 27th of June of the year 346, before Chriſt.)

Letter of Callimedon.

PHILIP, informed of the mirth and pleaſantry that reigns in our ſociety *, has juſt remitted

[m] Phavor. ap. Diog. Laert. in Ariſtot. lib. 5, § 21.
[n] Diog. Laert. ibid. § 20.
[o] Id. ibid.
* This was compoſed of perſons of wit and taſte, to the number of ſixty, who met, from time to time, to paſs humorous decrees on whatever they conſidered as objects of ridicule. I have ſpoken of them before. (See Vol. II. Chap. XX. p. 337.)

us a talent, and invites us to communicate to him the reſult of each meeting [p]. We ſhall not neglect to comply with his requeſt. I have propoſed to ſend to him the portraits of ſome of our miniſters and generals, for which I immediately furniſhed a number of ſketches. I will endeavour to recollect them.

Demades [q] had for ſome time diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a common ſailor on board our galleys [r], where he managed the oar with the ſame ſtrength and dexterity as he now does his arguments and rhetorical figures. He has derived from his former condition of life the honour of having enriched our language with a proverb. *From the oar to the roſtrum*, at preſent ſignifies the progreſs of one who has arrived at unexpected preferment [s].

He poſſeſſes much wit, and eſpecially the ſtyle of faſhionable pleaſantry [t], though he lives with the loweſt claſs of courteſans [u]. A great number of ſallies of wit are attributed to him [x]. Whatever he ſays ſeems to come by inſpiration; the idea and the expreſſion preſent themſelves at the ſame inſtant. He therefore never takes the trouble to

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[p] Athen. lib. 14, cap. 1, p. 614.
[q] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. iv. p. 418.
[r] Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 17, p. 128. Suid. in Δημάδ. Sext. Emp. adv. Gramm. lib. 2, p. 291.
[s] Eraſm. Adag. Chil. 3, cent. 4, p. 670.
[t] Cicer. Orat. cap. 26, t. i. p. 441.
[u] Pyth. ap. Athen. lib. 2, p. 44.
[x] Demetr. Phal. de Eloc.

write his diſcourſes [y], and rarely that of previouſly thinking on the ſubject on which he is to ſpeak. Does any unforeſeen affair come before the general aſſembly, on which Demoſthenes dares not open his mouth, Demades is called on, and he then ſpeaks with ſo much eloquence, that we cannot heſitate to rank him above all our orators [z]. He is equally ſuperior to them in other things. He may defy all the people of Athens to get intoxicated ſo often as himſelf [a], and all the kings of the earth to ſatisfy his avarice with their treaſures [b]. As he is very expert in commerce, he will ſell himſelf, even for a number of years, to any one that is willing to purchaſe him [c]. He ſaid to ſome perſon, that when he ſhould give a marriage portion to his daughter, it ſhould be at the expence of foreign powers [d].

Philocrates is leſs eloquent, equally voluptuous [e], and much more intemperate. At table, every thing diſappears before him, and he there appears to multiply himſelf, which has occaſioned the poet Eubulus to ſay, in one of his dramatic pieces: "We have two inſatiable gueſts, Philocrates and

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[y] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 9, t. i. p. 343. Quintil. lib. 2, cap. 17, p. 129.

[z] Theop. ap. Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 850.

[a] Athen. lib. 2, p. 44.

[b] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 755. Id. in Apophth. t. ii. p. 188.

[c] Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. p. 103.

[d] Plut. ibid.

[e] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 329 et 342. Æſchin. ibid. p. 403.

Philocrates[f]." He is alſo one of thoſe men on whoſe forehead we ſeem to read, as on the door of a houſe, theſe words, written in large characters, *To let: to ſell*[g].

It is not the ſame with Demoſthenes, who has always diſplayed an ardent zeal for the good of his country. He is in want of thoſe external accompliſhments which might enable him to ſupplant his rivals and gain the confidence of the people. He will perhaps betray us when he can no longer prevent our being betrayed by others[h].

His education had been neglected; and he was unacquainted with thoſe arts which might correct his numerous defects[i]. I wiſh I were able to depict him to you, ſuch as he appeared the firſt time he aſcended the roſtrum. Figure to yourſelf a man with an auſtere and diſcontented air, ſcratching his head, ſhrugging his ſhoulders, with a ſhrill and feeble voice[k], a difficult reſpiration, tones that grated on the ear, a barbarous pronunciation, and a ſtyle ſtill more barbarous, compoſed of endleſs, inexhauſtible, unintelligible periods, crowded beſides with all the arguments of the ſchools[l]. He fatigued and diſguſted us, and, in return, we hiſſed and

[f] Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 1, cap. 7, p. 8.
[g] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 310. Id. de Coron. p. 476.
[h] Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. p. 90. Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 857. Id. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 846.
[i] Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 847.
[k] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 420.
[l] Plut. ibid. p. 848.

hooted him. He was for ſome time obliged to retire, but he profited by his diſgrace like a man of ſuperior genius. By incredible efforts [m] he corrected ſome of his defects, and every day now adds a new ray to his glory which has been laborioufly acquired. He muſt long meditate on his ſubject, and turn it in his mind in every poſſible manner, to render his imagination prolific [n].

His enemies pretend that his works ſmell of the lamp [o]. Perſons of taſte think there is ſomething mean in his action [p], and cenſure him for employing harſh expreſſions and abſurd metaphors [q]. For my part I find him as frigid when he attempts to be pleaſant [r] as he is ridiculouſly attentive to his dreſs. The moſt delicate lady does not wear finer linen [s]; and this niceneſs forms a ſingular contraſt to the aſperity of his character [t].

I would not vouch for his probity. In a lawſuit he once wrote for both parties [u]. I mentioned this fact to one of his friends, a man of much wit, who replied, laughing: He was then very young.

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[m] Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 849. Id. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 844.

[n] Id. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 849.

[o] Id. ibid. Ælian. lib. 7, cap. 7. Lucian. in Demoſth. Encom. cap. 15, t. iii. p. 502.

[p] Plut. ibid. p. 851.

[q] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 480. Longin. de Sublim. cap. 34.

[r] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 279. Longin. ibid. Quintil. Inſtit. lib. 10, cap. 1, p. 643.

[s] Æſchin. ibid. p. 280.

[t] Plut. ibid. p. 847 et 886.

[u] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 421. Plut. ibid. p. 852 et 887.

His manners, though not of the pureſt kind, are not indecent. It is ſaid, indeed, that he viſits courteſans, that he ſometimes dreſſes himſelf like them [x], and that in his youth a ſingle aſſignation coſt him as much as all his pleadings had brought him during a whole year [y]. All this however is of little importance. It is added that he once ſold his wife to a young man named Cnoſion [z], which is a more ſerious accuſation. But theſe are domeſtic affairs in which I do not wiſh to intermeddle.

During the laſt feſtivals of Bacchus [a], in quality of choregus of his tribe, he was at the head of a company of young perſons who diſputed the prize in dancing. In the midſt of the ceremony Midias, a rich and ridiculous man, gave him a blow on the face in the preſence of a great number of ſpectators. Demoſthenes carried his complaint before a court of juſtice, and the affair was terminated to the ſatisfaction of both parties: Midias has given money, and Demoſthenes received it. We know now that it only coſts three thouſand drachmas * to inſult the cheek of a choregus [b].

A ſhort time after he accuſed one of his couſins of having dangerouſly wounded him, and

[x] Plut. X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 847.
[y] Athen. lib. 13, cap. 7, p. 593.
[z] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 419.
[a] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 603.
* 2700 livres (112 l. 10s.)
[b] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 436. Plut. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 844.

ſhewed a cut in his head which he was ſuſpected of having made himſelf[c]. As he required damages and intereſt, it was ſaid that the head of Demoſthenes was extremely productive[d].

We may laugh at his ſelf-love, but it is too undiſguiſed to give offence. I was with him the other day in the ſtreet, when one of the women who carry water happening to ſee him, pointed at him with her finger to ſhew him to another woman: "Look," ſaid ſhe, "there is Demoſthenes[e]." I pretended not to hear her; but he took care to make me remark her.

Æſchines has been accuſtomed from his youth to ſpeak in public. His mother early introduced him into public life, by taking him with her from houſe to houſe to initiate people of the loweſt claſs into the myſteries of Bacchus. He appeared in the ſtreet at the head of a chorus of Bacchants, crowned with fennel and branches of poplar, and performed with them, but with infinite grace, all the extravagant rites of their ſingular worſhip. He ſang, danced, and ſhouted, graſping in his hand ſerpents which he ſhook over his head. The populace heaped on him their benedictions, and the old women gave him little cakes[f].

[c] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 410. Id. in Cteſiph. p. 435. Suid. in Δημοσθ.

[d] Herald. Animadv. in Salmaſ. Obſerv. cap. 10, p. 136.

[e] Cicer. Quæſt. Tuſcul. lib. 5, cap. 36, t. ii. p. 391. Plin. lib. 9, epiſt. 23. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9, cap. 17.

[f] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 516.

This ſucceſs fired his ambition. He entered into a company of comedians, but was found only capable of the inferior parts. Notwithſtanding the ſonorouſneſs of his voice, the public declared againſt him an eternal war [g]: he therefore quitted this profeſſion, and became clerk in an inferior court, and afterward miniſter of ſtate.

His conduct has ſince been always regular and decent. He poſſeſſes wit, taſte, politeneſs, and the knowledge of propriety. His eloquence is diſtinguiſhed by a happy choice of words, the abundance and clearneſs of his ideas, and a prodigious facility, for which he is indebted leſs to art than nature. His ſtyle does not want ſtrength, though it has leſs than that of Demoſthenes. He at firſt dazzles, and afterward compels aſſent [h]; at leaſt this is what I am told by perſons who underſtand theſe things. He has the weakneſs to be aſhamed of his former condition in life, and the imprudence at the ſame time to remind others of theirs. When he walks in the forum with meaſured ſteps, a flowing robe, his head erect, and his cheeks ſwelled out [i], whiſpers are heard on every ſide: Is not that the petty clerk of a petty court of juſtice, the ſon of Tromes the ſchool-maſter, and Glaucothea, who was before called

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[g] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 516, et de Falſ. Leg. p. 346.
[h] Dionyſ. Halic. de Veter. Script. Cenſ. t. v. p. 434.
[i] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 343.

Empuſa*[k]? Was it not he who uſed to ſcour the forms of the ſchool when we were ſchool-boys; and who, during the Bacchanalia[l], ſhouted with all his might in the ſtreets, EVOE, SABOE*?

The jealouſy which exiſts between him and Demoſthenes is very apparent. They cannot but have perceived it firſt; for thoſe who have the ſame claims diſcover each other in an inſtant. I know not whether Æſchines will ſuffer himſelf to be corrupted; but thoſe who are ſo very poliſhed and amiable are generally feeble.

I ought to add, however, that he is a very brave man, who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral battles, and that Phocion has borne teſtimony to his valour[m].

Perhaps there is not a more ſingular character than the man I have laſt mentioned; I mean Phocion. He ſeems not to know that he lives in the preſent age, and in the city of Athens. He is poor, yet is not humiliated by his poverty; he does good, yet never boaſts of it; and gives his advice, though he is very certain that it will never be followed. He poſſeſſes talents without ambition, and ſerves the ſtate without views of intereſt. At the head of the army, he contents himſelf with

* That is *the Hag*, or *Spectre*.
[k] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 494.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 516.
* Barbarous words uſed to invoke Bacchus.
[m] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 422.

reſtoring diſcipline and beating the enemy. When addreſſing the aſſembly, he is equally unmoved by the diſapprobation or applauſe of the multitude. In one of his harangues he was propoſing a plan for the conduct of the approaching campaign, when on a ſudden ſome perſon interrupted him with the moſt abuſive language [a]. Phocion was ſilent till the other had ended, and then coolly thus reſumed his diſcourſe: "I have ſpoken to you of the infantry and cavalry; it now remains for me to ſpeak," &c. &c. On another occaſion he was loudly applauded by the people. I happened by chance to be next him: he turned round to me and ſaid, "Did you obſerve that I committed any egregious blunder [o]?"

We laugh at his ſingularity and his pleaſantries, but we have found an admirable ſecret to revenge ourſelves for his contempt. He is the only general we have left, and we ſcarcely ever employ him. He is the moſt upright, and perhaps the moſt intelligent, of our orators, and we liſten to him ſtill leſs. It is true that we cannot make him alter his principles; but, by Heaven! neither ſhall he induce us to change ours: and ſurely it ſhall never be ſaid that with his ſuperannuated virtues, and the rhapſodies of his antique manners, Phocion ſhall

[a] Plut. Reip. Gerend. Præcept. t. ii. p. 810.
[o] Id. in Phoc. t. i. p. 745.

have been able to correct the moſt poliſhed and amiable people in the world.

There is Chares, on the other hand, who by his example teaches our youth to make an open profeſſion of corruption [p]. He is the greateſt knave and the moſt unſkilful of all our generals, yet he enjoys the greateſt reputation [q]. He has ſheltered himſelf under the protection of Demoſthenes, and ſome other orators, and gives entertainments to the people. Is a fleet to be fitted out, Chares muſt have the command and entire diſpoſal of it. He is directed to ſail to one coaſt, and he ſails to another. Inſtead of defending our poſſeſſions he joins with pirates, and in concert with them lays the iſlands under contribution, and ſeizes every veſſel he meets in his way. Within a few years he has occaſioned the loſs of more than a hundred ſhips, and has diſſipated fifteen hundred talents *, in expeditions of no utility to the ſtate, but very lucrative to himſelf and his principal officers. Sometimes he does not deign to ſend us any account where he is, or what he is doing; but we obtain information in deſpite of him: and it is not long ſince we ſent out a ſwift-ſailing veſſel, with orders to cruize the ſeas, and endeavour to diſcover what was become of the fleet and the general [r].

[p] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 1, cap. 15, t. ii. p. 544.
[q] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 12, cap. 8, p. 532.
* 8,100,000 livres (337,500 l.)
[r] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406. Demoſth. in Olynth. 3, p. 38.

Letter of Nicetas.

THE Phocians, exhauſted by a war which has laſted almoſt ten years, have implored our aſſiſtance. They conſent to give up Thronium, Nicæa, and Alpenus, ſtrong towns ſituated at the entrance of the paſs of Thermopylæ. Proxenus, who commands our fleet on the neighbouring coaſts, has advanced to take poſſeſſion of them. He will place garriſons in them, and Philip muſt henceforth deſpair of forcing the defile.

We have reſolved at the ſame time to fit out another fleet of fifty ſhips. The flower of our youth are ready to march; we have enrolled all thoſe who have not paſſed their thirtieth year, and we learn that Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, has offered to the Phocians the whole force of that republic [s]. War is inevitable, and the deſtruction of Philip no leſs ſo.

Letter of Apollodorus.

OUR moſt accompliſhed Athenian ladies are jealous of the praiſes you beſtow on the wife and the ſiſter of Arſames, and our ableſt politicians agree that we have need of a ſtateſman of

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[s] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 416.

equal genius with the Perſian miniſter to oppoſe the abilities of Philip. Every place here lately reſounded with the din of arms, but a word from that prince has made them drop from our hands.

During the ſiege of Olynthus, he had, it is ſaid, more than once ſignified a wiſh to continue on good terms with us[t]. On this news, which the people received with tranſport, it was reſolved to open a negociation, which was ſuſpended by various obſtacles. He took Olynthus, and we breathed only war and vengeance; but ſoon after two of our actors, Ariſtodemus and Neoptolemus, whom the king treats with much kindneſs, aſſured us, on their return, that he continued in his former diſpoſitions[u], and immediately we thought of nothing but peace.

We have juſt ſent to Macedon ten deputies, all men of diſtinguiſhed abilities: Cteſiphon, Ariſtodemus, Iatrocles, Cimon, and Nauſicles, who have for their aſſociates Dercyllus, Phrynon, Philocrates, Æſchines, and Demoſthenes[x]. To theſe we muſt add Aglaocreon of Tenedos, who has the care of the intereſts of our allies. They are to ſettle with Philip the moſt important articles of the peace,

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[t] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 397.
[u] Argum. Orat. de Falſ. Leg. p. 291. Demoſth. ibid. p. 295.
[x] Æſchin. ibid. p. 398. Argum. Orat. ibid.

and

and engage him to ſend plenipotentiaries finally to conclude it here.

I am unable to underſtand our conduct. This prince lets fall a few vague, and perhaps inſidious, proteſtations of friendſhip to us; and immediately, without liſtening to men of wiſdom and experience, who diſtruſt his intentions, without waiting for the return of the deputies we have ſent to the different ſtates of Greece, to engage them to unite againſt the common enemy, we intermit our preparations, and make advances which he will abuſe if he accedes to them, and of which a refuſal will be humiliating to us. To obtain his favour, our deputies muſt have the good fortune to be agreeable to him. The actor Ariſtodemus had entered into engagements with ſome cities which had intended to give theatrical exhibitions; and a deputation was therefore ſent, in the name of the ſenate, moſt earneſtly to ſolicit that Ariſtodemus might be excuſed from paying the forfeiture he muſt incur, becauſe the republic had need of his ſervices in Macedonia. And Demoſthenes too, who had in his harangues treated Philip with ſo much haughtineſs and contempt, was the propoſer of this decree [y]!

[y] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 398.

Letter of Callimedon.

OUR ambaſſadors have made incredible diſpatch[z]; they are already returned. They appear to act in concert; but Demoſthenes is not ſatisfied with his colleagues, who, on their ſide, complain of him. I ſhall relate to you ſome anecdotes relative to their expedition, which I learned yeſterday at an entertainment, at which the principal of them, Cteſiphon, Æſchines, Ariſtodemus, and Philocrates, were preſent.

I ought firſt to tell you, that during their journey they had not a little to endure from the vanity of Demoſthenes[a], but they were patient. Inſupportable people are ſometimes ſo eaſily ſupported in ſociety! But what gave them the greateſt diſturbance was the genius and abilities of Philip. They felt they were not able to contend with him in politics. Every day they diſtributed their parts, and diſpoſed their attacks. It was determined that the eldeſt of them ſhould firſt mount to the aſſault, and Demoſthenes, as the youngeſt, bring up the rear. He promiſed to open the inexhauſtible ſources of his eloquence: "Fear not Philip," added he: "I will ſo completely *ſew up* his mouth[b], that he ſhall be forced to reſtore to us Amphipolis."

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[z] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 318.
[a] Æſchin. ibid.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 398.

When they were admitted to an audience of the king, Cteſiphon and the others expreſſed themſelves in a few words [c]; Æſchines, eloquently and diffuſely; Demoſthenes —— but I will endeavour to give you his picture. He roſe half dead with fear. He was not now to aſcend the roſtrum of Athens, and harangue that multitude of artiſans who compoſe our aſſemblies. Philip was ſurrounded by his courtiers, the greater part of whom were men of wit and abilities: among others were Python of Byzantium, who values himſelf on writing elegantly; and Leoſthenes, whom we have baniſhed, and who it is ſaid is one of the greateſt orators in Greece [d]. All had heard ſpeak of the magnificent promiſes of Demoſthenes, and watched for their fulfilment with an attention which completed his embarraſſment. He tremblingly ſtammered an obſcure exordium, loſt his recollection, grew more and more confuſed, and at laſt was totally unable to proceed. The king in vain endeavoured to inſpire him with more confidence: he roſe only to fall again; and when Philip had entertained himſelf for ſome moments with his ſilence, the herald gave notice to our deputies to retire [e].

Demoſthenes ought to have been the firſt to laugh at this accident; but, inſtead of that, he be-

[c] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 399.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 415.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 401.

gan the attack on Æſchines, whom he bitterly reproached for having ſpoken to the king with too much freedom, and thus brought on the republic a war which it was in no condition to ſupport. Æſchines was about to reply, when they were again introduced into the royal preſence. When they were ſeated, Philip diſcuſſed their claims in order, anſwered their complaints, and eſpecially dwelt on the diſcourſe of Æſchines, to whom he frequently addreſſed himſelf in particular; then aſſuming an air of affability and kindneſs, he teſtified the moſt ſincere deſire to conclude the peace.

During all this time, Demoſthenes, with all the inquietude of a courtier threatened with diſgrace, had recourſe to every expedient to attract the notice of the king; but he could not obtain from him a ſingle word, nor even a look.

He left the conference with a diſſatisfaction that produced the moſt extravagant ſcenes. He was like a child ſpoiled by the indulgence of his parents, and unexpectedly mortified by the ſucceſs of his companions. The ſtorm laſted ſeveral days. He at laſt perceived that ill-humour availed but little, and endeavoured to become more ſocial with the other deputies. They were then on their return home; and, taking them ſeparately, he promiſed them his protection in the popular aſſembly. To one he ſaid: I will re-eſtabliſh your fortune. To another: I will procure for you the

command of the army. With Æſchines he employed all his addreſs: he ſoothed the jealouſy, and beſtowed unlimited applauſe on the merit of his rival. His praiſes muſt have been very extravagant, ſince Æſchines pretends they were tireſome and diſguſting even to himſelf.

One evening, in I know not what city of Theſſaly, he for the firſt time thought proper to be pleaſant on his own adventure. He added, that no perſon under heaven poſſeſſed the powers of eloquence equal to Philip. What moſt aſtoniſhed me, replied Æſchines, was the amazing exactneſs with which he recapitulated all that we had ſaid. And I, replied Cteſiphon, though I am advanced in years, never in my life ſaw a man ſo polite and agreeable. Demoſthenes clapped his hands, and applauded every word. Excellent! cried he; but you would not venture to hold the ſame language in the preſence of the people. Why ſhould we not? replied his companions. He doubted, they inſiſted; he required their promiſe, and they gave it [f].

It is not known what uſe he intends to make of this; but we ſhall ſee at the firſt meeting of the aſſembly. Our whole ſociety intends to be preſent, for all this cannot well fail to produce ſome ridiculous ſcene; and if Demoſthenes has reſerved

[f] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 402.

his follies for Macedon, I will never forgive him ſo long as I live.

What alarms me is, that he has conducted himſelf extremely well at the meeting of the ſenate. The letter of Philip having been remitted to that aſſembly, Demoſthenes has congratulated the republic on having confided its intereſts to deputies equally deſerving ſuch a truſt by their eloquence and their probity. He has propoſed to decree them a crown of olive, and to invite them the next day to an entertainment in the Prytaneum. The decree of the ſenate is conformable to theſe propoſals [g].

I ſhall not ſeal my letter till after the general aſſembly.

I have this moment left it. Demoſthenes has done wonders. The deputies, each in their turn, related the different circumſtances of their embaſſy. Æſchines had ſaid a word of the eloquence of Philip, and his happy memory; Cteſiphon, of his beauty and his figure, the embelliſhments of his mind, and his convivial gaiety. They all received their applauſes, when Demoſthenes aſcended the roſtrum in a more ſerious and ſignificant manner than uſual. After having a long time ſcratched his forehead, for he always begins ſo: "I cannot but admire," ſaid he, "both thoſe who ſpeak, and thoſe who hear. How is it

[g] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 402.

poſſible for men to dwell on ſuch trifles, when a matter of ſo great moment awaits their conſideration! I ſhall now likewiſe proceed to lay before you an account of the embaſſy. Let the decree paſſed by this aſſembly previous to our departure, and the letter which the king of Macedon has returned by us, be read." After the reading of theſe, he added: "Such were our inſtructions, and we have fulfilled them. You have heard the anſwer of Philip: it now only remains for us to deliberate on that anſwer [h]."

Theſe words excited a kind of murmur in the aſſembly. "What preciſion, what addreſs!" ſaid ſome: "What envy, what malignity!" ſaid others. For my part, I laughed heartily at the embarraſſment viſible in the countenances of Cteſiphon and Æſchines. Without, however, giving them time to breathe, he reſumed his diſcourſe as follows: "You have heard great encomiums beſtowed on the eloquence and memory of Philip; any other perſon in poſſeſſion of the ſame power would obtain the ſame praiſes. His other excellent qualities have likewiſe been extolled; but he has not a finer countenance than the actor Ariſtodemus, nor can he drink better than Philocrates. Æſchines has told you, that he had left to me, at leaſt in part, the diſcuſſion of our rights to Amphipolis;

[h] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 403.

but that orator will not leave either to you or me an opportunity of ſpeaking. Theſe, however, are trifles unworthy our notice: I ſhall proceed to propoſe a decree. The herald of Philip is arrived, and his ambaſſadors will ſoon follow. I move that permiſſion may be granted to treat with them, and that the Prytanes be directed to convoke an aſſembly, which ſhall be held two days ſucceſſively, and in which we may deliberate on the peace and the alliance. I am likewiſe of opinion, that you ſhould paſs a vote of approbation and praiſe of the conduct of your deputies, if they deſerve it; and that they ſhould be invited to ſup to-morrow in the Prytaneum[i]." This decree has paſſed almoſt unanimouſly, and the orator has reaſſumed his ſuperiority.

I have a great opinion of Demoſthenes; but it is not ſufficient to poſſeſs great abilities, we ought not to be ridiculous. There ſubſiſts between celebrated men and our ſociety a kind of tacit convention; we give them our eſteem, and they ought to indulge us in laughing at their follies.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

I SEND you the journal of what has paſſed in our aſſemblies till the concluſion of the peace.

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[i] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 403.

The 8th of Elaphebolion, the day of the feſtival of Æſculapius *. The Prytanes met, and, conformably to the decree of the people, appointed two general aſſemblies to deliberate on the peace. They will be held on the 18th and 19th [k].

The 12th, the firſt day of the feſtivals of Bacchus †. Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus are arrived. They come on the part of Philip to conclude the treaty, and to receive the oath by which it is to be ſanctioned [l].

Antipater is, next to Philip, the moſt able politician in Greece. Active and indefatigable, he extends his vigilance to almoſt every part of the adminiſtration. The king has often ſaid: We may ſecurely ſleep, or reſign ourſelves to our pleaſures, for Antipater watches for us [m].

Parmenio, beloved by the ſovereign, and ſtill more by the ſoldiers [n], has already ſignaliſed himſelf by a great number of exploits: he would be the firſt general in Greece, if Philip did not exiſt. From the abilities of theſe two deputies you may judge of the merit of Eurylochus, their aſſociate.

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* The 8th of this month in the year in queſtion correſponded to the 8th of March of the year 346 before Chriſt.

[k] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 403 et 404. Id. in Cteſiph. p. 438.

† The 12th of March of the ſame year.

[l] Argum. Orat. de Falſ. Leg. ap. Demoſth. p. 291. Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 304.

[m] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 179.

[n] Quint. Curt. lib. 4, cap. 13.

The 15th of Elaphebolion *. The ambaſſadors regularly attend at the ſhows exhibited at this feſtival. Demoſthenes has cauſed the ſenate to aſſign them a diſtinguiſhed place [o]. He has taken care that cuſhions and purple carpets ſhall be prepared for them. At the break of day he conducts them himſelf to the theatre; and has aſſigned them apartments in his own houſe. Many people are offended at his paying them ſuch obſequious attention, and conſider it as a meanneſs [p]. They ſay that, having been unable to gain the favour of Philip while in Macedon, he now wiſhes at leaſt to ſhew that he was deſerving of it.

The 18th of Elaphebolion †. The aſſembly has met; but before I proceed to the deliberations, it will be proper to ſtate to you the principal objects which were to be diſcuſſed.

The poſſeſſion of Amphipolis is the firſt ſource of our differences with Philip [q]. This city appertains to us; he has ſeized on it, and we demand that it ſhall be reſtored.

He has declared war againſt ſome of our allies: it would be both ſhameful and dangerous for us to abandon them. Of this number are the cities of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, and thoſe of Phocis.

* The 15th of March of the year 346 before Chriſt.

[o] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 403 et 412. Demoſth. de Coron. p. 477.

[p] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 440.

† The 18th of March.

[q] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406.

King Cotys had taken from us the former[r]. His ſon Cerſobleptes reſtored them to us after having held them a few months[s]; but we have not yet taken poſſeſſion. It it to our intereſt to preſerve them, becauſe they will give ſecurity to our navigation in the Helleſpont and our commerce in the Euxine ſea. Neither ought we to refuſe our protection to the latter, becauſe they defend the paſs of Thermopylæ, and are the bulwark of Attica by land, as thoſe of Thrace are on the ſide of the ſea[t].

When our deputies took leave of the king, he proceeded toward Thrace; but he promiſed them not to attack Cerſobleptes during the negotiations for peace[u]. We are not equally at our eaſe with reſpect to the Phocians. The ambaſſadors of Philip have declared that he refuſes to comprehend them in the treaty; but his partiſans aſſure us that, if he has not yet openly made known his intentions in their favour, it is only that he may not too precipitately give offence to the Thebans and Theſſalians, their enemies[x].

He has ſignified, alſo, that it is his intention to exclude from the treaty the inhabitants of Halus

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[r] Demoſth. adv. Ariſtocr. p. 742, 746, &c. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 434.

[s] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 305. Id. adv. Ariſtocr. p. 742. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406.

[t] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 321.

[u] Æſchin. ibid. p. 408.

[x] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 344.

in Theſſaly, who are in alliance with us, and whom he now beſieges, in revenge for their incurſions on the people of Pharſalos, who are under his protection [y].

I paſs over other articles of leſs importance.

The proceedings of the aſſembly of this day began by reading the decree which the agents of our allies had taken the precaution to procure [z]. It contained in ſubſtance, "that the people of Athens deliberating on a peace with Philip, the allies have reſolved that, after the ambaſſadors ſent by the Athenians to the different ſtates of Greece ſhall have returned, and made their report in preſence of the Athenians and the allies, the Prytanes ſhall convoke two aſſemblies to conſider on the peace; and the allies previouſly engage to ratify whatever may be determined on in thoſe aſſemblies; and that three months ſhall be granted to any other of the Grecian ſtates who ſhall be willing to accede to the treaty."

After this reſolution had been read, Philocrates propoſed a decree, one of the articles of which formally excluded from the treaty the inhabitants of Halus and the Phocians. The people bluſhed at the propoſal [a], and the minds of the aſſembly became heated and agitated. Some of our orators

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[y] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 299. Ulpian. ibid. p. 356.
[z] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 404. Id. in Cteſiph. p. 438.
[a] Demoſth. ibid. p. 296 et 317.

rejected all modes of accommodation, and exhorted us to caſt our eyes on the monuments of our victories and the tombs of our fore-fathers. "Let us emulate the courage of our anceſtors," replied Æſchines, "when they defended their country againſt the innumerable hoſts of the Perſians; but let us not imitate their conduct when they imprudently ſent forces into Sicily to the ſuccour of the Leontines their allies [b]." He concluded for peace: the orators who followed him did the ſame, and the decree paſſed.

While the conditions of the treaty were in diſcuſſion, letters were brought from our general Proxenus, whom we had commiſſioned to take poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong places at the entrance of the paſs of Thermopylæ. Theſe places had been offered to us by the Phocians; but, in the mean time, ſome diſſenſions taking place among them, the predominating party had refuſed to give them up to Proxenus. Such was the ſubſtance of theſe letters [c].

We have lamented the blind obſtinacy of the Phocians, but we have not abandoned them. The article in the decree of Philocrates, by which they were excluded from the treaty, has been eraſed; and in its ſtead it has been inſerted, that Athens

[b] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 296 et 342. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406.

[c] Æſchin. ibid. p. 416.

ſtipulates in her own name, and in the name of all her allies [d].

When the aſſembly roſe, every one ſaid that a peace indeed ſhould be concluded with Philip; but it did not ſeem proper that we ſhould contract an alliance with him, till the deputies which had been ſent to the different ſtates of Greece ſhould be returned [e].

The 19th of Elaphebolion *. Demoſthenes, having ſecured the roſtrum, declared, that all the proceedings of the day before muſt be utterly ineffectual, unleſs the Macedonian ambaſſadors could be perſuaded to concur; that we ought not to *rend* the alliance from the peace (for that was the expreſſion he employed), nor to wait the dilatory proceedings of the other ſtates of Greece, which ſhould determine each for itſelf for peace or war. The ambaſſadors from Macedon were preſent. Antipater anſwered according as had been concerted between him and Demoſthenes, who now addreſſed his diſcourſe to him [f]. The matter has not been profoundly inveſtigated. It had been enacted, by a previous decree, that, in the firſt aſſembly, every citizen might give his opinion on the ſubjects propoſed for deliberation; but that on the next day the preſidents ſhould take the

[d] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 317.
[e] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 439.
* The 19th of March of the year 346 before Chriſt.
[f] Æſchin. ibid.

ſuffrages in order: they have accordingly taken them, and we have at once made a treaty of peace and a treaty of alliance [g].

The principal articles of this treaty are as follow. We cede to Philip our claims to Amphipolis [h]; but we are given to expect in return either the iſland of Eubœa, of which he may in ſome manner diſpoſe, or the city of Oropus, which the Thebans have taken from us [i]. We flatter ourſelves, likewiſe, that he will leave us in the poſſeſſion of the Thracian Cherſoneſus [k]. We have comprehended all our allies in the treaty, and thus protect the king of Thrace, the people of Halus, and the Phocians. We guarantee to Philip all that he at preſent poſſeſſes, and we engage to conſider as enemies all who ſhall make attempts to deprive him of them [l].

Objects ſo important ought to have been diſcuſſed and ſettled in a general aſſembly of the Grecian ſtates [m]. It was the wiſh of our allies that ſuch an aſſembly ſhould be convened, and we had determined to convoke it [n]; but the affair ſuddenly took a rapid turn, and every thing was con-

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[g] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 405.
[h] Demoſth. de Pace, p. 63. Lit. Phil. ap. Demoſth. p. 117.
[i] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 297 et 326. Id. de Pace, p. 61.
[k] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 305.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 315.
[m] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 437.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 438.

cluded with precipitation. Philip had written to us, that, if we would enter into an alliance with him, he would explain himſelf more clearly with reſpect to the ceſſions he could make to us [o]. This vague promiſe has dazzled the people, and the deſire of pleaſing the king of Macedon ſeduced our orators. Though his ambaſſadors have entered into no engagements [p], we have haſtened to take the oath to them, and to name deputies, who are to depart for Macedon to receive that of the king [q].

Theſe are in number ten, without enumerating the deputy of our allies [r]. Some of them went on the former embaſſy; among whom are Demoſthenes and Æſchines. Their inſtructions contain, among other things, that the treaty ſhall extend to the allies of Athens and thoſe of Philip; that the deputies ſhall repair to that prince to receive the ratification of it; that they ſhall avoid all particular conference with him; that they ſhall demand the Athenians whom he holds in chains to be ſet at liberty; that in each of the cities which are in alliance with him, they ſhall receive the oath of thoſe who are at the head of the government; and that they ſhall be empowered to act according to circumſtances, and as they ſhall judge moſt con-

[o] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 300.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 304.
[q] Id. de Coron. p. 477.
[r] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 410.

ducive to the intereſts of the republic [s]. The ſenate is directed to haſten their departure [t].

The 25th of Elaphebolion *. The agents or repreſentatives of ſome of our allies have this day taken the oath in preſence of the ambaſſadors of Philip

The 3d of Munychion †. It is the intereſt of Philip to defer the ratification of the treaty, and ours to haſten it; for we have ſuſpended all our preparations, and he has never been ſo active. He preſumes with reaſon that we ſhall not diſpute with him the poſſeſſion of thoſe places which he may conquer in the interim. Demoſthenes however has penetrated his deſigns, and has prevailed on the ſenate, of which he is a member, to paſs a decree that our ambaſſadors ſhall ſet out for Macedon as ſoon as poſſible [x]. They will depart without delay.

The 15th of Thargelion ‡. Philip has not yet ſigned the treaty: our ambaſſadors have made no extraordinary haſte to come up with him; they are in Macedon, and he is in Thrace. Notwithſtanding he had given his word not to enter the

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[s] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 337. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 411.

[t] Demoſth. ibid. p. 317.

* The 25th of March of the year 346 before Chriſt.

[u] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 488. Id. in Cteſiph. p. 439.

† The 1ſt of April of the ſame year.

[x] Demoſth. ibid. p. 316 et 317.

‡ The 13th of May of the ſame year.

territories of king Cerſobleptes, he has ſeized on one part of them, and is making preparations to poſſeſs himſelf of the other; by which acquiſition he will conſiderably increaſe his power and revenues: for, beſides that the country is very rich and populous, the duties that the king of Thrace collects in his ports [y] amount annually to two hundred talents*. It would have been eaſy for us to have prevented this conqueſt. Our ambaſſadors might have reached the Helleſpont in leſs than ten days, or, perhaps, in leſs than three or four [z]: they would have found Philip in the neighbourhood, and might have offered him the alternative of accepting or refuſing the conditions of peace. In the former caſe he muſt have engaged not to invade the territories of our allies, among whom the king of Thrace would have been included; and in the latter, our army, in conjunction with that of the Phocians, would have ſtopped his progreſs at Thermopylæ [a]; our fleets, maſters of the ſeas, would have prevented his from making a deſcent on Attica; we ſhould have ſhut againſt him our ports, and rather than have ſuffered the trade of his ſubjects to be ruined, he would have paid a proper reſpect to our claims and our rights.

Such was the plan of Demoſthenes, who recom-

[y] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 743.
* 1,080,000 livres (45,000l.)
[z] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 477.
[a] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 316.

mended that the ambaſſadors ſhould go by ſea; but Æſchines, Philocrates, and the greater part of them preferred going by land, and journeying by ſhort ſtages, ſo that they have been three and twenty days in going from Athens to Pella, the capital of Macedonia[b]. When they had arrived, they might immediately have repaired to the camp of Philip, or have gone to the different cities to receive the oath of the allies; inſtead of which, they have determined quietly to remain at Pella till his expedition ſhall be terminated.

On his return, he will include his new acquiſitions among the poſſeſſions which we have guaranteed to him; and if we ſhould allege that his ſeizure of the territories of Cerſobleptes is an infraction of the treaty, he will reply, that at the time he made this conqueſt he had not yet ſeen our ambaſſadors, nor ratified the treaty which was to limit the progreſs of his arms[c].

In the mean time the Thebans having implored his aſſiſtance againſt the Phocians, not ſatisfied with ſending them troops[d], he has ſeized this opportunity to aſſemble in his capital the deputies of the principal cities of Greece. His pretext for this convention is that the war between the Thebans and the Phocians may be terminated; but

[b] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 317.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 318. Ulpian. ibid. p. 377.
[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 455. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 411.

his real object to hold Greece inactive till he shall have executed the projects he has formed.

The 13th of Scirophorion *. Our ambassadors have at length returned: they will give an account of their embassy to the senate on the day after to-morrow, and on the next day to the assembly of the people [c].

The 15th of Scirophorion †. If we believe Demosthenes, nothing can be conceived more shameful and criminal than the conduct of our ambassadors. He accuses them of having sold themselves to Philip, and betrayed the republic and her allies. He earnestly pressed them to repair immediately to Philip; but they obstinately persisted in waiting for him at Pella for seven and twenty days, and did not see him till fifty days after their departure from Athens [f].

The king of Macedon on his return found the deputies of the first cities of Greece assembled in his capital, alarmed at his new conquests, and still more disquieted at the design he manifested continually to approach Thermopylæ [g]. All were ignorant of, and endeavoured to discover, his real views. The courtiers of the king said to some of our ambassadors, that the cities of Bœotia would be restored to their rights, and that hence we might

* The 9th of June of the year 346 before Christ.
[c] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 296 et 302.
† The 11th of June.
[f] Demosth. ibid. p. 317.
[g] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 416.

conclude that Thebes was threatened. The Athenian baſſadors from Lacedæmon credited this report, and, joining with ours, preſſed Philip to execute his project. The Theſſalians, however, ſaid that the expedition was intended againſt them alone.

While the deputies were alternately agitated by their hopes and fears, Philip employed to gain them over ſometimes preſents [h], which ſeemed to be only teſtimonies of eſteem, and ſometimes careſſes, which might be taken for the overflowings of friendſhip. Æſchines and Philocrates are ſuſpected not to have been inſenſible to theſe two modes of ſeduction.

On the day of public audience, the ambaſſadors were made to wait, for the king was not riſen; and when they murmured, Parmenio ſaid to them: "Be not ſurpriſed that Philip ſleeps while you wake, for he watched while you ſlept [i]." At length he appeared, and each in turn addreſſed him on the object of their miſſion [k]. Æſchines enlarged on the reſolution which the king had taken to put an end to the war of the Phocians. He conjured him when he ſhould be at Delphi to reſtore liberty to the cities of Bœotia, and to reeſtabliſh thoſe which the Thebans had deſtroyed; he recommended to him not indiſcriminately to

[h] Demoſt. de Falſ. Leg. p. 318.
[i] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 179.
[k] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 412.

deliver up to the latter people the wretched inhabitants of Phocis, but to ſubmit the ſentence of thoſe who had profaned the temple and treaſury of Apollo to the determination of the Amphictyonic ſtates, who had always poſſeſſed the right to puniſh ſuch kinds of crimes.

Philip did not explain himſelf openly with reſpect to theſe demands. He diſmiſſed the other deputies, and departed with ours for Theſſaly; and it was only in an inn in the city of Pheræ that he ſigned the treaty which he ſwore to obſerve [l]. He refuſed to include in it the Phocians, that he might not violate the oath he had ſworn to the Theſſalians and Thebans [m]: but he gave promiſes and a letter. Our ambaſſadors took their leave, and the troops of the king advanced toward Thermopylæ.

The ſenate met this morning, and the hall was filled with people [n]. Demoſthenes has endeavoured to prove that his colleagues have acted contrary to their inſtructions, that they are ſold to Philip, and that our only reſource is to fly to the ſuccour of the Phocians, and to ſeize on the paſs of Thermopylæ [o].

The letter of the king was inſufficient to calm the minds of the people: "I have taken the oath," ſays he, "in the preſence of your ambaſſadors;

[l] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 317.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 300 et 343. Ulpian. p. 357.
[n] Demoſth. ibid. p. 296.
[o] Id. Philip. 2, p. 67.

you will ſee that it contains the names of ſuch of my allies as were preſent; and I ſhall ſend you the oath of the others when it ſhall have been taken[p]." A little lower he adds: "Your ambaſſadors would have gone to the cities of our allies, to have received their oaths; but I have kept them with me, becauſe I had need of them, to reconcile the people of Halus with thoſe of Pharſalos[q]."

The letter does not ſay a word of the Phocians, nor of the hopes which were held out to us when we concluded the peace. He then ſignified to us, that if we would conſent to enter into an alliance with him, he would explain himſelf more clearly with reſpect to the ſervices which it was in his power to render us. But in his laſt letter he coldly ſays that he does not know in what he can oblige us[r]. The ſenate has indignantly paſſed a decree conformable to the advice of Demoſthenes; it has not voted eulogies to the ambaſſadors, nor invited them to an entertainment in the prytaneum, a tacit but ſevere cenſure, which none of our deputies have before received[s], and which muſt, no doubt, prejudice the people againſt Æſchines and his adherents.

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[p] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 415.
[q] Demoſt. de Falſ. Leg. p. 299.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 300.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 298.

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

THE 16th of Scirophorion [*] [t]. I am now at the houſe of the grave Apollodorus; I came to viſit him while he was writing to you, and have ſnatched the pen from his hands to continue his journal.

I now know my Demoſthenes by rote. Would you know what a vigorous and ſublime genius can produce, make him mount the roſtrum; but would you ſee a man completely aukward, embarraſſed, and unpoliſhed, you have only to convey him to the court of Macedon. When our deputies appeared a ſecond time before Philip, he was in haſte to ſpeak firſt, and began with invectives againſt his colleagues, which were followed by a long diſplay of the ſervices he had rendered that prince, and the tireſome reading of the decrees he had cauſed to be paſſed to accelerate the peace; to which ſucceeded a long account of his attention to lodge the ambaſſadors from Macedon in his own houſe, to procure them good cuſhions at the theatre, to chooſe for them three teams of mules when they left Athens, and to accompany them himſelf on horſeback; and all this openly in deſpite of the envious, with the ſole intention to

* The 12th of June of the year 346 before Chriſt.
[t] Demoſth. de Fal. Leg. p. 302.

pleaſe the monarch. His colleagues covered their faces to hide their bluſhes at ſuch abſurdity, while he ſtill continued, "I have not ſpoken of your beauty, it is the merit of a woman; nor of your memory, it is that of a rhetorician; nor your talent for drinking, it is that of a ſponge." In a word, he harangued in this ſtrange manner ſo long, that at laſt every body burſt into a laugh [w].

I have another ſcene to deſcribe to you. I am juſt come from the general aſſembly. It was expected that the debates would be violent and intereſting. Our ambaſſadors cannot agree concerning the anſwer of Philip, though this was the grand object of their embaſſy. Æſchines has ſpoken of the innumerable advantages which the king wiſhes to grant us [x]; he has particularized ſome, and explained himſelf concerning others in half-words, like a profound politician, and a man honoured with the confidence of the king, and alone entruſted with his ſecrets. After having given us a high idea of his capacity, he gravely came down from the roſtrum, which Demoſthenes immediately aſcended, and abſolutely denied all that the other had affirmed. Æſchines and Philocrates however had placed themſelves on each ſide of him, and interrupted him at every ſentence by exclamations or pleaſantries. The multitude did the ſame.

[w] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 412.
[x] Demoſth. ibid. p. 297.

"Since you are afraid," ſaid Demoſthenes, "that I ſhould deſtroy your hopes, I enter my proteſt againſt theſe fallacious promiſes, and retire." "Not ſo faſt," replied Æſchines; "ſtop one moment, and at leaſt declare that, for the future, you will not attribute to yourſelf the ſucceſs of your colleagues." "No, no," replied Demoſthenes, with a ſarcaſtic ſmile, "I will never do you that injuſtice." Philocrates then ſaid: "Athenians, be not ſurpriſed that Demoſthenes and I are not of the ſame opinion; he drinks only water, and I only wine." Theſe words occaſioned a roar of laughter[y], and Philocrates remained maſter of the field of battle.

Apollodorus will inform you of the cataſtrophe of this farce, for our aſſembly is now merely a comic ſcene, and our orators are only ſtage players, who declaim with virulence againſt each other. It is ſaid that on this occaſion ſome of them have carried that privilege a little too far. Of this I know nothing; but I clearly ſee that Philip laughs at them, that they dupe the people, and that the wiſeſt part we can take is to laugh both at the people and at thoſe who govern them.

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[y] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 300.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

I SHALL now add what I think wanting to the narrative of the mad-brained Callimedon.

The people were alarmed at the arrival of Philip at Thermopylæ [z]. Should this prince join the Thebans our enemies, and deſtroy the Phocians our allies, what hope would remain to the republic? Æſchines has pledged himſelf for the favourable diſpoſitions of the king, and the ſafety of Phocis. In two or three days, he affirms, without leaving our homes, without being obliged to have recourſe to arms, we ſhall learn that the city of Thebes is beſieged, that Bœotia is free, and that Platæa and Theſpiæ, which have been demoliſhed by the Thebans, are rebuilding. Sentence will be pronounced on the ſacrilege committed againſt the temple of Apollo, by the tribunal of the Amphictyons; and the crime of a few individuals will no longer be imputed to the whole nation of the Phocians. We give up Amphipolis; but for this ſacrifice we ſhall receive a ſufficient indemnification [a].

After this harangue, the people, intoxicated with hope and joy, refuſed to hear Demoſthenes, and Philocrates propoſed a decree which paſſed without oppoſition. It contains eulogiums on

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[z] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 478.
[a] Id. ibid. Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 297. Id. de Pace, p. 60.

Philip, a ſtrict alliance with his poſterity, and ſeveral other articles, of which the following is the moſt important: "If the Phocians do not give up the temple of Delphi to the Amphictyons, the Athenians will cauſe their troops to march againſt them [b]."

This reſolution taken, new deputies have been choſen, who are to repair to Philip, and ſuperintend the execution of his promiſes. Demoſthenes has excuſed himſelf; Æſchines has pretended illneſs, and others have been immediately appointed in their ſtead. Stephanus, Dercyllus, and the reſt will depart directly [c]; and in a few days we ſhall know whether the ſtorm has fallen on our friends or our enemies, on the Phocians or the Thebans.

The 27th of Sciropharion *. The ruin of Phocis and its inhabitants is complete. The general aſſembly was held this day, at the Piræus, on the ſubject of our arſenals [d]. Dercyllus, one of our deputies, has ſuddenly returned. He had learned, at Chalcis in Eubœa, that, a few days before, the Phocians had ſubmitted to Philip, who is preparing to deliver them into the hands of the Thebans. It is impoſſible that I ſhould deſcribe the

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[b] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 301.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 312. Æſchin. ibid. p. 417.
* The 23d of June of the year 346 before Chriſt.
[d] Demoſth. ibid. p. 302 et 312.

grief, conſternation, and terror, which have ſeized on all minds.

*The 28th of Scirophorion**. We are in an agitation, which the conviction of our feebleneſs renders inſupportable. The generals, with the conſent of the ſenate, have convened an extraordinary aſſembly, which has paſſed a decree to remove, as ſoon as poſſible, from the country, the women, children, and all kinds of moveable effects; thoſe which are within one hundred and twenty ſtadia† to be conveyed to the city, and the Piræus; and thoſe beyond that diſtance to Eleuſis, Phyle, Aphidna, Rhamnus, and Sunium. It is likewiſe enacted, that the walls of Athens, and other places of ſtrength, ſhall be repaired, and that ſacrifices ſhall be offered to Hercules, as is our cuſtom in times of public calamity [e].

The 30th of Scirophorion ‡. The following are the particulars of the misfortune of the Phocians. At the very time when Æſchines and Philocrates were making us ſuch magnificent promiſes on the part of Philip, he had already paſſed the ſtraits of Thermopylæ [f]. The Phocians, uncertain of his real deſigns, and fluctuating between fear and hope, could not reſolve to ſeize that important poſt.

* The 24th of June.
† About four leagues and a half.
[e] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 312. Id. de Coron. p. 478.
‡ The 26th of June.
[f] Demoſth. de Cor. ibid.

They occupied the places which are at the entrance of the defile. The king ſought to treat with them: they miſtruſted his intentions, and wiſhed to know ours; and ſoon after receiving advice by deputies, which we had diſpatched to them[f], of what had paſſed in our aſſembly of the 16th of this month *, they were perſuaded that Philip, acting in concert with us, meaned in reality to attack the Thebans, and no longer thought of defending themſelves[g]. Phalæcus, their general, ſurrendered to him Nicæa, and the fortreſſes in the environs of Thermopylæ, and obtained permiſſion to retire into Phocis, with the eight thouſand men under his command[h]. At this news the Lacedæmonians, who were marching, under the conduct of Archidamus, to the aſſiſtance of the Phocians, again returned quietly towards Peloponneſus[i]; and Philip, without effort, without oppoſition, without loſing a ſingle man, may now decide on the fate of a people who for ten years have reſiſted all the attacks of the Thebans and Theſſalians, obſtinately bent on their deſtruction. This is now, no doubt, determined: Philip has promiſed, and owes it to his allies: he will believe likewiſe that it is to his intereſt. He will treat the Phocians as wretches guilty of ſacri-

[f] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 302.
* The 12th of June.
[g] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 305.
[h] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 417. Diod. lib. 16, p. 455.
[i] Demoſth. ibid. p. 301 et 305.

lege; and if he ſhould exerciſe cruelty towards them, he will be condemned indeed by a ſmall number of ſages, but every where adored by the multitude.

How completely has he deceived us! or rather how obſtinately have we perſiſted in the reſolution to be deceived! When he made our ambaſſadors wait ſo long at Pella, was it not manifeſt that he wiſhed to finiſh his expedition in Thrace without interruption? When he kept them with him after having diſmiſſed the others, was it not clear that his intention was to complete his preparations, and prevent us from continuing ours? When he ſent them back with words which promiſed every thing, and a letter that promiſed nothing, was it not demonſtrated that he had entered into no engagement with us?

I had forgotten to tell you, that in this letter he propoſed to us to cauſe our troops to advance, and, in concert with him, terminate the war of the Phocians [k]: but he knew well that this letter would not be delivered to us till after he ſhould be maſter of Phocis.

We have at preſent no other reſource than the indulgence or pity of this prince. The pity!—— Ye manes of Themiſtocles and Ariſtides! By entering into an alliance with him, and haſtily concluding a peace, at a time when we invited the

[k] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 301. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 416.

other ſtates of Greece to take arms, we have loſt our poſſeſſions and our allies [l]. To whom can we now addreſs ourſelves? All the north of Greece is devoted to Philip. In Peloponneſus, Elis, Arcadia, and Argolis, filled with his partiſans [m], will not, any more than the other ſtates of that country, pardon our alliance with the Lacedæmonians [n]; and the latter people, notwithſtanding the reſtleſs ardour of Archidamus their king, prefer peace to war. On our ſide, when I view the ſtate of our navy, our army, and finances, I only behold the ſhattered remains of a once formidable power.

A general outcry has been raiſed againſt our deputies. They are very culpable if they have betrayed us, and very unfortunate if they are innocent. I aſked Æſchines why they ſtayed in Macedon. He anſwered: Becauſe we had no orders to go farther [o]. I likewiſe aſked him why he had flattered us with ſuch ſpecious but falſe hopes. He replied: I have related what I was told, and what I ſaw, as I was told it and as I ſaw it [p]. This orator, when he heard of the progreſs of Philip, immediately ſet out to join the third deputation which we have ſent to that prince, though a few days before he had declined being one of the deputies [q].

[l] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 315.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 334.
[n] Id. de Pace, p. 62.
[o] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 410.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 407.
[q] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 312.

In

In the Archonship of Archias,

The 3d year of the 108th Olympiad,

(From the 27th of June of the year 346, to the 15th of July of the year 345, before Christ.)

Letter of Apollodorus.

*THE 7th of Metagitnion**. It is yet permitted us to be free. Philip will not turn his arms againſt us: he has hitherto been occupied by the affairs of Phocis, and other motives will ſoon oblige him to return to Macedon.

As ſoon as he arrived at Delphi, he aſſembled the council of the Amphictyons, in order to decree an exemplary puniſhment againſt thoſe who had ſeized on the temple and the ſacred treaſure. The form was legal; we ourſelves had indicated it in our decree of the 16th of Scirophorion†; yet, as the Thebans and Theſſalians, by the number of their ſuffrages, diſpoſe at pleaſure of the deciſions of that tribunal, the judgment pronounced muſt neceſſarily be influenced by hatred and cruelty[r]. The principal authors of the ſacrilege are devoted to public execration; they may be purſued wherever they fly[s]. The nation, as an accomplice in their crime, ſince it took up arms in

* The 1ſt of Auguſt of the year 346 before Chriſt.

† The 12th of June of the ſame year.

[r] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 301.

[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 455.

their defence, loſes the double ſuffrage it had in the aſſembly of the Amphictyons, and this privilege is for ever transferred to the kings of Macedon. All the cities of Phocis, excepting three, of which it is thought ſufficient to deſtroy the fortifications, are to be demoliſhed, and reduced to villages of fifty ſmall houſes placed at a certain diſtance from each other [t]. The inhabitants of Phocis, deprived of the right of offering ſacrifices, or participating in the ſacred ceremonies, may cultivate their lands, but muſt annually pay ſixty talents* into the ſacred treaſury, till they ſhall have reſtored the whole ſum which they have taken out of it. They are to deliver up their arms and horſes, and are not to poſſeſs others till they have made complete reſtoration to the treaſury. Philip, in concert with the Bœotians and Theſſalians, is to preſide at the Pythian games, inſtead of the Corinthians, who are accuſed of having favoured the Phocians. There are alſo other articles, the object of which is to re-eſtabliſh union among the ſtates of Greece, and reſtore the dignity of divine worſhip in the temple of Apollo [u].

The propoſition of the Œtæans of Theſſaly was cruel, becauſe it was conformable to the laws enacted againſt ſacrilege. They propoſed to ex-

[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 455. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 3, p. 804.
* 324,000 livres (13,500l.)
[u] Diod. Sic. ibid. Pauſan. ibid.

terminate the impious race of the Phocians, by caſting their infants from the top of a rock. But Æſchines warmly oppoſed this motion, and ſaved the hope of a multitude of wretched families [x].

Philip has cauſed the decree to be executed, according to ſome with rigorous barbarity [y], but according to others with more moderation than the Thebans and Theſſalians would have ſhewed [z].

Twenty walled towns conſtituted the ornament of Phocis [a]. The greater part of theſe are now only heaps of aſhes and ruins [b]. In the fields, we only behold aged men, women, children, and infirm perſons, whoſe feeble and trembling hands with difficulty gather from the earth ſome groſs ſuſtenance. Their ſons, their huſbands, their fathers, have been forced to abandon them: ſome, ſold for ſlaves, groan in chains [c]; and others, proſcribed and fugitive, find no aſylum throughout Greece. We have received ſome of them, and the Theſſalians already charge us with it as a crime [d]. Even ſhould more fortunate circumſtances bring them back to their country, what a time muſt elapſe before they can have reſtored to the temple of Delphi all the gold and ſilver of

[x] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 417.
[y] Juſtin. lib. 8, cap. 5. Oroſ. lib. 3, cap. 12.
[z] Æſchin. ibid. Diod. ibid. p. 456.
[a] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 312.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 303 et 344.
[c] Id. de Coron. p. 479.
[d] Id. de Pace, p. 62.

which it has been plundered by their generals during the courſe of the war, and the value of which is ſaid to amount to more than ten thouſand talents [e] * !

After the council was ended, Philip offered ſacrifices, as returning thanks to the gods; and during a ſplendid entertainment, at which were preſent two hundred gueſts, including our deputies and thoſe of the other ſtates of Greece, hymns were ſung in honour of the gods; and ſongs of victory to celebrate the triumph of the monarch [f].

The 1ſt of Pyanepſion †. Philip, before he returned into his territories, has fulfilled the engagements he had contracted with the Thebans and the Theſſalians [g]. He has given to the former Orchomenus, Coronea, and other cities in Bœotia, which they have diſmantled [h]; and to the latter, Nicæa, and the places which are at the outlet of the paſs of Thermopylæ [i], and which the Phocians had taken from the Locrians. Thus the Theſſalians remain maſters of the ſtrait; but they are ſo eaſily to be deceived [k], that Philip riſks nothing in confiding it to their cuſtody. For his part, he has de-

[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 453.
* More than 54,000,000 livres (2,250,000l.)
[f] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 313. Æſchin. ibid. p. 421.
† The 23d of October of the year 346 before Chriſt.
[g] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 343.
[h] Id. de Pace, p. 62. Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 315 et 344.
[i] Id. Phil. 2, p. 66. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 450.
[k] Ulpian. in Olynth. 2, p. 28.

rived from his expedition all the advantages he expected: he is at liberty to pass Thermopylæ whenever he shall judge proper [l]: he has obtained the honour of having terminated a religious war, and has acquired the right of presiding at the Pythian games, and the still more important right of a seat and suffrage in the council of the Amphictyons.

As this latter privilege may give him a very great preponderance in the affairs of Greece, he is extremely anxious to preserve it. At present he has only received it from the Thebans and the Thessalians: to render it valid and legitimate, the consent of the other states which compose the league is necessary. His ambassadors, and those of the Thessalians, came not long since to solicit our concurrence [m]; which they did not obtain [n], though Demosthenes was of opinion their request should be granted. He feared lest a refusal should irritate the Amphictyonic states, and render Attica a second Phocis [o].

We are so dissatisfied with the late peace, that we have been glad of an opportunity to offer this affront to Philip. If he is offended at our refusal, we have much more reason to be so at his pro-

[l] Demosth. de Pace, p. 62.
[m] Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 310.
[n] Id. Phil. 1, p. 62.
[o] Id. de Pace. Liban. Argum. p. 59.

ceedings. In fact, we have given up every thing to him, and he has only relaxed in the single article of the cities of Thrace, which appertain to us [p]. Both sides will now remain in a state of mutual distrust; the consequence of which will be infractions and re-accommodations, which it is but too probable will terminate in some fatal catastrophe.

You are astonished at our audacity. The people no longer fear Philip now he is at a distance, though we dreaded him too much when he was near. The manner in which he has conducted and terminated the war with the Phocians, his disinterestedness in the division of the spoils, and the profound policy he has displayed, may with reason inspire us with as much security for the present, as fears for a future time which perhaps is not far distant. Other conquerors hasten to possess themselves of a country, without bestowing a thought on those who inhabit it; but Philip endeavours to subdue the Greeks before he conquers Greece. He wishes to allure us, to gain our confidence, to accustom us to our chains, to oblige us perhaps to request them from him, and by slow and lenient methods to become insensibly our arbiter, our defender, and our master.

I shall conclude by two anecdotes which have been related to me of him. While he was at Delphi he was informed that an Achæan, named

[p] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 305.

Arcadion, a man of wit and prompt at repartee, hated him, and affected to ſhun his preſence. He one day met this man by accident, and ſaid to him with great mildneſs: "How long will you fly me?" "Until," replied Arcadion, "I ſhall arrive at ſome place where your very name is unknown." The king only laughed, and engaged him by kindneſs and careſſes to come and ſup with him [q].

This prince is ſo great, that I have long expected him to be guilty of ſome weakneſs; nor have I been deceived. He has juſt forbidden the uſe of chariots in his dominions [r], becauſe a ſoothſayer has predicted that he ſhall die by a chariot *.

In the Archonship of Eubulus,

The 4th year of the 108th Olympiad,

(From the 15th of July of the year 345, to the 4th of July of the year 344, before Chriſt.)

Letter of Apollodorus.

TIMONIDES of Leucadia arrived here a few days ſince. You were acquainted with him

[q] Theop. Dur. Phil. ap. Athen. lib. 6, cap. 13, p. 249.

[r] Cicer. de Fat. cap. 3. Val. Max. lib. 1, cap. 8. Extern. No. 9. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3, cap. 45.

* The authors who relate this anecdote add, that a chario was engraved on the handle of the poniard with which this kin was aſſaſſinated.

at the academy, and you know that thirteen years ago he accompanied Dion into Sicily, and continually fought by his ſide. The hiſtory on which he is employed will contain the particulars of that celebrated expedition [s].

Nothing can be imagined more dreadful than the ſtate in which he has left the iſland of Sicily, formerly ſo flouriſhing. It ſeems as if fortune had choſen it for the theatre where ſhe might exhibit, within a ſmall number of years, all the viciſſitudes of which human affairs are capable. She at firſt produced two tyrants, who oppreſſed the country during half a century. Againſt the latter of theſe princes ſhe raiſed Dion his uncle; againſt Dion, Callippus his friend; and againſt that infamous aſſaſſin, Hipparinus; whom two years after ſhe deſtroyed by a violent death [t], and whoſe place ſhe ſupplied by a rapid ſucceſſion of deſpots, leſs powerful, but no leſs cruel than the former [u].

Theſe different eruptions of tyranny, preceded, accompanied and followed by terrible ſhocks, have been all diſtinguiſhed, like the exploſions of Ætna, by dreadful traces. The ſame ſcenes are every inſtant renewed in the principal cities of Sicily, the greater part of which have broken the bonds that conſtituted their ſtrength by at-

[s] Plut. in Dion. p. 967, 971 et 972.
[t] Plut. Ep. 8, t. iii. p. 356. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 5, cap. 4. Diod. lib. 16, p. 436. Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 10, p. 436.
[u] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 236.

taching them to the capital, and have delivered themſelves up to leaders who have enſlaved by promiſing them liberty. Hippon has made himſelf maſter of Meſſana, Mamercus of Catana, Icetas of Leontini, Niſæus of Syracuſe, and Leptines of Apollonia [x], while other cities groan under the yoke of Nicodemus, Apolloniades, &c. [y] Theſe revolutions have not been effected without torrents of blood, and giving birth to implacable hatreds, and the moſt atrocious crimes.

The Carthaginians, who poſſeſs many places in Sicily, extend their conqueſts, and daily make incurſions into the territories of the Grecian cities, the inhabitants of which experience, without the leaſt interruption, at once the horrors of a foreign and a civil war; inceſſantly expoſed to the attacks of the barbarians, the enterpriſes of the tyrant of Syracuſe, the enormities of their particular tyrants, and to the rage of parties, which has ariſen to ſuch a height as to arm even the good and virtuous citizens againſt each other.

Such a train of calamities have rendered Sicily only one profound ſolitude, one vaſt tomb. The villages and towns have diſappeared [z]; the fields lie uncultivated; and the cities, half deſtroyed and deſert, ſeem transfixed with terror at the menacing

[x] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 236 et 247.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 472.
[z] Plut. ibid. Diod. ibid. p. 473.

aſpect of thoſe citadels [a], which encloſe within their walls their tyrants ſurrounded by the miniſters of death.

You perceive, Anacharſis, that nothing is more fatal to a nation deſtitute of manners than to attempt to break its chains. The Greeks of Sicily were too corrupted to preſerve their liberty, and too vain to endure ſervitude. Their diſſenſions and their wars have only proceeded from the monſtrous alliance which they wiſhed to form between the love of independence and their exceſſive taſte for pleaſures. By their reſtleſs agitation they are become the moſt unfortunate of men, and the moſt abject of ſlaves.

Timonides has this moment left me: he has received letters from Syracuſe. Dionyſius has re-aſcended the throne, from which he has driven Niſæus, the ſon of the ſame father, but by another mother [b]. Niſæus had reigned ſome years, and continued with ſplendour the tyranny of his predeceſſors. Betrayed by his partiſans [c], thrown into a dungeon, and condemned to die, he has paſſed his laſt days in a ſtate of continual intoxication [d]. He has died like his brother Hipparinus,

[a] Nep. in Timol. cap. 3.
[b] Plut. in Timol. p. 236.
[c] Juſtin. lib. 21, cap. 3.
[d] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 10, p. 435.

who had reigned before him [e], after having lived like another of his brothers named Apollocrates [f].

Dionyſius has a great revenge to take on his ſubjects. They deprived him of the ſupreme power, and during ſeveral years he was compelled to endure in Italy a weight of ignominy and contempt [g]. They fear, with reaſon, the impetuoſity of his temper, and his vindictive ſpirit, irritated by what he has ſuffered. Theſe we may well expect to produce a new intrigue in the great tragedy which Fortune exhibits in Sicily.

Letter of Apollodorus.

WE have juſt received news from Sicily. Dionyſius believed himſelf happy in being again ſeated on a throne ſo often ſtained by the blood of his family; but this was the fatal moment in which his evil deſtiny awaited him. His wife, his daughters, and the youngeſt of his ſons, have periſhed together, by the moſt lingering and cruel of deaths. When he departed from Italy for Sicily, he left them in the capital of the Locrians, who took advantage of his abſence to beſiege them in the citadel; which having taken, they

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[e] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 10, p. 436.
[f] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 41.
[g] Plat. Epiſt. 7, p. 334.

ſtripped them naked, and expoſed them to the brutal deſires of an unbridled populace, whoſe fury was not aſſuaged by this exceſs of indignity. They put them to death by thruſting needles under their nails, broke their bones in a mortar, and cut the reſt of their bodies into pieces, which they threw into the flames or the ſea, after having forced every citizen to taſte of their fleſh [h].

Dionyſius was accuſed of having, in concert with the phyſicians, ſhortened the life of his father [i] by poiſon, and put to death ſeveral of his brothers and relations, whom he ſuſpected of forming deſigns againſt his authority [k]. He has ended by being the executioner of his wife and children; for when a whole people is guilty of ſuch ſtrange barbarities, it becomes neceſſary to examine the affair with attention, to diſcover to whom the guilt is to be imputed. If we conſider t conduct of the Locrians, we ſhall find that they lived peaceably, under laws which maintained order and tranquillity in their city [l]. Dionyſius, driven from Syracuſe, ſolicited from them an aſylum; which they granted the more readily, as a treaty of alliance ſubſiſted between them and him, and his mother had been born among them. Their

[h] Clearch. ap. Athen. lib. 12, p. 541. Plut. in Timol. p. 242. Strab. lib. 6, p. 260. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9, cap. 8.
[i] Plut. in Dion. p. 960.
[k] Juſtin. lib. 21, cap. 1. Ælian, lib, cap. 12.
[l] Strab. ibid. p. 259.

fathers, by permitting, contrary to the maxims of true policy [m], that a private family ſhould give a queen to Sicily, had not foreſeen that Sicily would ſend them a tyrant in return. Dionyſius, by the aid of his relations and his troops, gained poſſeſſion of the citadel; ſeized on the property of the rich citizens, who were almoſt all maſſacred by his orders; expoſed their wives and daughters to the moſt infamous proſtitution; and in a few years entirely deſtroyed the laws, manners, tranquillity and happineſs of a nation, which ſo many injuries had rendered ferocious [n].

The dreadful calamity which he has ſuffered has ſpread terror through his whole kingdom. It cannot be doubted but Dionyſius will refine even on the cruelties of his father, and verify a prediction which a Sicilian related to me not long ſince.

While the ſubjects of Dionyſius the elder were continually uttering imprecations againſt him, he learned with ſurpriſe that a very old woman in Syracuſe every morning prayed to the gods that ſhe might not ſurvive her king. He therefore cauſed her to be brought before him, and enquired the reaſon of her tender affection. "I will tell you," ſaid ſhe: "When I was a child,

[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 7, t. ii. p. 396.

[n] Juſtin. lib. 21, cap. 2 et 3. Clearch. ap. Athen. lib. 12, p. 541. Ælian. lib. 9, cap. 8. Strab. lib. 6, p. 259.

which is now a long time ago, I heard every one making heavy complaints againſt him who governed us, and I joined in wiſhing his death. He was murdered; and a ſecond came, who having ſeized on the citadel, cauſed us to regret the former. We conjured the gods to deliver us from him, and they heard our prayers. You ſucceeded him, and you have been worſe than both the others; but as I expect, from what we have already experienced, that your ſucceſſor will be guilty of ſtill greater cruelties than you, I every day addreſs vows to heaven for your preſervation." Dionyſius, ſtruck with the frankneſs of the woman, did not put her to death, but treated her with kindneſs [o].

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF LYCISCUS,

The 1ſt year of the 109th Olympiad,

(From the 4th of July of the year 344, to the 23d of July of the year 343, before Chriſt.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

THE kings of Macedon hated the Illyrians, who had often defeated them: Philip hates no nation, becauſe he fears none; he only aims to enſlave all.

[o] Val. Max. lib. 6, cap. 2. Extern. No. 2.

Follow in imagination, if you are able to do it, the rapid operations of his laſt campaign. He aſſembles a powerful army, falls on Illyria, takes ſeveral cities, amaſſes immenſe plunder; returns to Macedon, penetrates into Theſſaly, whither he is invited by his partiſans; delivers that country from all the petty tyrants by which it was oppreſſed; divides it into four great diſtricts, at the head of which he places the chiefs whom the people deſire, and who are devoted to him; attaches the inhabitants to himſelf by new ties, cauſes the duties he received in their ports to be confirmed to him, and quietly returns to his dominions [p]. What is the reſult of this conduct? While the barbarians, ſhuddering with rage, are compelled to bear the chains he has impoſed on them, the blinded Greeks haſten to offer themſelves to ſervitude. They conſider him as the enemy of tyranny, as their friend, their benefactor, and their ſaviour [q]. Some intrigue to procure an alliance with him [r], and others implore his protection. At this very time, he has openly undertaken the defence of the Meſſenians and Argives; he has furniſhed them with men and money, and ſignified to the Lacedæmonians that, if they ſhall attack them, he will imme-

[p] Demoſth. Phil. 2, p. 66; Phil. 3, p. 89. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 463.
[q] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 479.
[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 463.

diately enter Peloponneſus [s]. Demoſthenes is gone into Meſſenia and Argolis, and has in vain endeavoured to ſhew thoſe ſtates their true intereſts. . . . . .

FROM THE SAME.

AMBASSADORS from Philip are arrived. He complains of the calumnies which we circulate againſt him, reſpecting the late peace. He maintains that he never entered into any engagement, nor made any promiſe, and defies us to prove the contrary [t]. Our deputies then have ſhamefully deceived us, and, as Demoſthenes has urged, ought to be compelled either to juſtify their conduct or ſuffer the puniſhment they merit [u].

This they will ſoon meet. The orator Hyperides has lately brought a public accuſation againſt Philocrates, and detected his villany and artifice. The indignation againſt him was general, but he himſelf appeared unmoved; he waited for the rage of the multitude to ſubſide. "Why do you not defend yourſelf?" ſaid ſome one to him. "It is not time," anſwered he.—"What then do you wait for?" "For the people to condemn ſome

[s] Demoſth. Phil. 2, p. 65.
[t] Liban. Argum. in Phil. 2, p. 63.
[u] Demoſth. Phil. 2, p. 67.

other orator [x]." At length, however, proof having been obtained that he had received rich preſents from Philip [y], he has fled to eſcape the puniſhment due to his crime.

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

YOU have heard it ſaid that, in the times of our fore-fathers, about ten or twelve centuries paſt, the gods, as a relaxation from the eternal ſameneſs of their felicity, ſometimes deſcended to the earth to amuſe themſelves with the daughters of mortals. You may perhaps imagine that they have ſince loſt their reliſh for this intercourſe; but, if you do, you are miſtaken.

It is not long ſince I ſaw an athleta, named Attalus [z], born at Magneſia, a city ſituated on the Meander, in Phrygia, who came from the Olympic games, in which he had received ſeveral ſevere wounds, but had not been able to gain the prize. I expreſſed my aſtoniſhment at this, becauſe he appeared to me of invincible ſtrength. His father, who was with him, ſaid to me: His defeat ought only to be attributed to his ingratitude: when he entered himſelf as a competitor, he did not declare

[x] Ariſt. Rhet. lib. 2, cap. 3, t. ii. p. 551.
[y] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 310 et 311.
[z] Æſchin. Epiſt. 10, p. 211.

his real father, who has taken vengeance by depriving him of the victory.—He is not then your ſon?—No, he owes his birth to the Meander.—How! is he the ſon of a river?—Beyond a doubt; my wife has told me ſo, and all Magneſia was a witneſs to the fact. According to a very ancient cuſtom, our maidens, before they are married, bathe in the waters of the Meander, and offer their firſt favours to the god. He often diſdains to receive them; but he accepted thoſe of my wife We ſaw, at a diſtance, that divinity, under the figure of a beautiful young man, lead her into ſome cloſe thickets with which the banks are covered.—And how do you know that he was the river?—He muſt have been; his head was crowned with reeds.—I ſubmitted to this proof as demonſtrative.

I communicated this ſtrange converſation to ſeveral of my friends, who told me of a muſician of Epidamnus, named Carion, who pretends that one of his children is the ſon of Hercules. Æſchines related to me the following fact *. I ſhall give it you in his own words.

I was in Troas, with my young friend Cimon and ſtudied the Iliad in the places which are the ſcene of the poem. The ſtudies of Cimon were

* The true date of this tranſaction is ſeveral years later than the times of which I treat; but as it exemplifies the manners of the age and country, I have believed I ſhould be pardoned the anachroniſm, and that it would be ſufficient to acknowledge it.

of a quite different nature. A number of maidens were to be married, and Callirhoe, the faireſt among them, went to bathe in the Scamander, while her female attendant ſtood on the bank, at a certain diſtance. Callirhoe had no ſooner plunged into the river, than ſhe ſaid, with a loud voice: Scamander, receive the homage which we owe unto thee. I receive it, replied a young man, who roſe from the midſt of ſome buſhes. I was with the reſt of the people at ſo great a diſtance that we could not diſtinguiſh the features of his countenance, but we could perceive that his head was covered with reeds. In the evening I laughed with Cimon at the ſimplicity of theſe people.

Four days after, the brides appeared, arrayed in all their ornaments, in a proceſſion in honour of Venus. As they paſſed us, Callirhoe, perceiving Cimon, who ſtood next to me, ſuddenly fell at his feet, and exclaimed to her attendant, with a ſimple and artleſs joy: O nurſe, there is the god Scamander, my firſt huſband. Her attendant ſcreamed aloud, and the impoſture was diſcovered. Cimon immediately diſappeared, and I cloſely followed him. When we had reached our houſe, I upbraided him with the imprudence and wickedneſs of the action he had committed; but he laughed in my face, and defended himſelf by the example of the athleta Attalus, and the muſician Carion. After all, added he, Homer has introduced Sca-

mander in tragedy, and I was willing he ſhould figure in comedy. I will not end here: I will father one child on Bacchus, and another on Apollo. It is mighty well, replied I; but in the mean time we are in ſome danger of being burnt alive, for I ſee the multitude approaching with flaming torches. In fact, we had only time to ſave ourſelves by a back door, and embark immediately on board a veſſel [a].

My dear Anacharſis, when it is ſaid that an age is enlightened, no more is meant than that more knowledge is found in certain cities than in others, and that in theſe cities the upper ranks of citizens are better informed than they formerly were. The multitude, I do not even except that of Athens, adhere the more tenaciouſly to their ſuperſtitions, the more efforts are made to detach them from them. During the laſt feſtivals of Eleuſis, the young and charming Phryne, having thrown off her garments, and permitted her beautiful hair to float on her ſhoulders, entered the ſea, and ſported a long time in the midſt of the waves. An infinite number of ſpectators covered the ſhore, and when ſhe came out of the water, they all exclaimed: It is Venus riſing from the ocean. And the populace no doubt would have taken her for that goddeſs, if Phryne had not been ſo well known, and if ſome perſons

[a] Æſchin. Ep. 10, p. 211.

of underſtanding had thought proper to favour the deception.

Doubt it not, men have two favourite paſſions which philoſophy will never be able to deſtroy; the love of error, and the love of ſlavery. But let us leave philoſophy, and return to Phryne. The ſcene which ſhe exhibited was too much applauded not to be repeated, and will, it is probable, contribute to the improvement of the arts. The painter Apelles and the ſculptor Praxiteles were on the ſhore, and both have conceived the deſign of repreſenting Venus after the model which they had before their eyes [b].

At your return you will ſee this celebrated beauty, and will no doubt acknowledge that you have ſeen none in Aſia who could boaſt ſuch an aſſemblage of graces. Praxiteles is deſperately enamoured of her: he is a connoiſſeur in beauty, and declares that he never before ſaw an example of it ſo perfect. She wiſhed to have the fineſt work of that artiſt. I will give it you with pleaſure, anſwered he, on condition that you chooſe it yourſelf. But how difficult was it to determine amid ſuch a number of inimitable performances! While ſhe heſitated, a ſlave, whom ſhe had ſecretly gained over, came running to tell his maſter that his work-ſhop had taken fire, that the greater part

[b] Athen. lib. 12, p. 590.

of his ſtatues were deſtroyed, and the reſt in the moſt imminent danger. Alas! exclaimed Praxiteles, I am ruined if the Cupid and the Satyr are not ſaved. Fear nothing, cried Phryne, ſmiling; this is merely a contrivance of mine to guide me in my choice. She then took the ſtatue of Cupid, and her deſign is to enrich with it the city of Theſpiæ, her native place[c]. It is likewiſe reported that that city intends to conſecrate to her a ſtatue, in the encloſure of the temple at Delphi, and place it by the ſide of that of Philip[d]. It is certainly proper that a courteſan ſhould be placed next to a conqueror.

I can pardon Phryne for ruining her lovers, but I cannot forgive her for afterward diſmiſſing them[e]. Our laws, more indulgent, wink at her frequent infidelities, and the licentiouſneſs of her manners; but ſhe was ſuſpected of having, after the example of Alcibiades, profaned the myſteries of Eleuſis, and cited to anſwer for the crime before the tribunal of the Heliaſtæ. She appeared, and as the judges entered the court, ſhe watered their hands with her tears[f]. Euthias, who proſecuted her, urged that ſentence of death ſhould be pronounced againſt her. Hyperides ſpoke for her. That celebrated orator, who had loved and ſtill entertained

[c] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 46.
[d] Athen. lib. 12, p. 590.
[e] Timocl. ap. Athen. lib. 13, cap. 3, p. 567.
[f] Poſidip. ibid. p. 591.

a paſſion for her, perceiving that his eloquence made no impreſſion, cauſed her to approach, tore the veil which covered her boſom, and repreſented in the moſt forcible language to her judges, that they would be guilty of an impiety ſhould they condemn to death the prieſteſs of Venus. The judges, ſeized with a religious fear, and ſtill more moved by the charms expoſed to their view, declared Phryne innocent [g].

For ſome time paſt the pay of our foreign troops has amounted to more than a thouſand talents [h] *. We have loſt ſeventy-five cities which were dependent on us [i]; but we have perhaps acquired as many beauties, each more amiable than the other. They no doubt increaſe the pleaſures of ſociety, but they alſo increaſe its abſurdities. Our orators, philoſophers, and graveſt perſonages value themſelves on their gallantry [k], and our fine ladies learn the mathematics [l]. Gnathæna does not ſtand in need of this reſource to pleaſe. Diphilus, who is extremely fond of her, having brought out a comedy, the failure of which he could not attribute to cabal, I happened to be at the houſe of his miſtreſs when he came in, immediately after, in no

[g] Athen. lib. 13, p. 590. Plut. in X. Ret. t. ii. p. 849. Quinctil. lib. 2, cap. 15, p. 120.
[h] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 315.
* 5,400,000 livres (225,000 l.)
[i] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406.
[k] Athen. lib. 13, p. 588, &c.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 583.

ſmall agitation, and as ſoon as he had entered requeſted that his feet might be waſhed *. You have no need, anſwered ſhe; every body has carried you on their ſhoulders [m].

The ſame perſon, one day, dining with Gnathæna, aſked her by what means ſhe kept her wine ſo cool. I cool it, replied ſhe, in a well into which I have thrown the prologues to your pieces [n].

Before I conclude, I muſt mention to you a ſentence which Philip has lately pronounced. Two criminals, equally guilty, were brought before him: they both deſerved death, but he loves not to ſhed blood. He has baniſhed one from his dominions, and condemned the other to follow him till he ſhall return to Macedon [o].

Letter of Apollodorus.

ISOCRATES has juſt ſhewn me a letter which he has written to Philip [p]. An old courtier could not diſplay more addreſs in flattering a prince. He apologizes for having adventured to give him advice, but he found himſelf conſtrained to it: the intereſt of Athens and of all Greece required it; the ſubject of it being moſt important,

* Many Athenians went with their feet naked.
[m] Athen. lib. 13, p. 583.
[n] Id. p. 580.
[o] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178.

no leſs than the care which the king of Macedon ought to take of his life. Every one blames you, ſays he, for throwing yourſelf into the midſt of danger with leſs precaution than a common ſoldier. It is no doubt a glorious action to die for our country, for our children, for thoſe to whom we owe our exiſtence; but nothing can be more reprehenſible than to endanger a life on which depends the fate of an empire, and to tarniſh, by a deſtructive temerity, the glory of ſo many great actions. He adduces the example of the kings of Lacedæmon, who, in the heat of battle, are ſurrounded by a number of warriors to defend their perſons; of Xerxes king of Perſia, who, notwithſtanding his defeat, ſaved his kingdom by preſerving himſelf; and of a number of generals, who, not being ſufficiently careful of their own lives, have occaſioned the deſtruction of their armies [q].

He wiſhes that a ſincere friendſhip ſhould be eſtabliſhed between Philip and the Athenians, and that they ſhould, in concert, direct their power againſt the empire of the Perſians. He ſpeaks honourably of the republic, though he confeſſes that we have our faults; but the gods themſelves are not wholly irreproachable in our eyes [r].

I ſhall here ſtop; I am not ſurpriſed that a man

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p Iſocr. Ep. 2. ad Phil. t. i. p. 442.
q Id. ibid. p. 445.
r Id. ibid. p. 450.

above ninety years of age ſtill creeps, after having crept during his whole life; but what gives me moſt ſerious concern is, that many Athenians think like him; and you will hence be led to conclude, that ſince your departure our ideas have greatly changed.

CHAP. LXII.

Of the Nature of Governments, according to Ariſtotle and other Philoſophers.

WE received the laſt letters of which I have given copies, at Smyrna, on our return from Perſia *; in which city we learned that Ariſtotle, after having paſſed three years with Hermias, governor of Atarnea, had gone to reſide at Mytilene, the capital of Leſbos [s].

We were ſo near to him, and had been ſo long without having ſeen him, that we reſolved to ſurpriſe him with a viſit. Our attention gave him great pleaſure. He was preparing to depart for Macedon, Philip having at length prevailed on him to undertake the education of his ſon Alexander. I ſacrifice my liberty, ſaid he to us, but here is my excuſe; ſhewing us at the ſame time a letter from the king, conceived in the following words [t]: "A ſon is born to me, and I return thanks to the gods, leſs that they have given him to me, than

* In the ſpring of the year 343 before Chriſt.

[s] Diog. Laert. lib. 5, § 3 et 9. Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad Amm. cap. 5, t. vi. p. 728.

[t] Aul. Gell. lib. 9, cap. 3.

that he has been born in your time, ſince I hope that your care and inſtruction will render him both worthy of me and the kingdom to which he is to ſucceed."

We paſſed whole days with Ariſtotle, and gave him an exact account of our travels. The following particulars appeared to engage his attention. I told him that, when we were in Phœnicia, we were invited to dinner with ſome Perſian noblemen, at the houſe of the ſatrap of the province. The converſation, as uſual, only turned on *the great king*. You know, ſaid I, that the authority of the Perſian monarch is much leſs reſpected in the diſtant provinces than in the capital of the empire. Many inſtances were given of his haughtineſs and deſpotiſm. It muſt be granted, ſaid the ſatrap, that kings believe themſelves to be of a totally diſtinct ſpecies from us[u]. Some days after, being in company with ſeveral ſubaltern officers of the ſame province, they complained to us of the ill treatment and injuſtice which they had ſuffered from the ſatrap. It appears manifeſt to me, ſaid one of them, that a ſatrap thinks himſelf of a quite different nature from his inferior officers. I afterwards interrogated their ſlaves, who all lamented the rigour of their fate, and agreed that their

[u] Lib. de Mund. ap. Ariſtot. cap. 6, t. i. p. 611. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8, cap. 15, lib. 9, cap. 41. Quint. Curt. lib. 7, cap. 8.

maſters muſt certainly think themſelves a race of mortals of a ſuperior kind to them [x]. On our ſide we were convinced, with Plato, that the greater part of men, by turns ſlaves and tyrants, exclaim againſt injuſtice leſs from the hatred which it merits than from the fear which it inſpires [y].

While we were at Suſa, in a converſation which we had with a Perſian, we remarked to him, that the condition of deſpots is moſt wretched, becauſe they poſſeſs ſufficient power to effect the greateſt miſchiefs. We, in conſequence, deplored the ſlavery to which his country was reduced [z], and contraſted it with the liberty enjoyed in Greece. He replied, with a ſmile: You have paſſed through many of our provinces; in what condition have you found them? Extremely flouriſhing and populous, anſwered I; their trade is extenſive, agriculture is honoured and nobly patroniſed by the ſovereign [a]; induſtry and activity are conſpicuous in their manufactures; and they are in a ſtate of profound tranquillity, though they are expoſed to ſome oppreſſions on the part of their governors.

No longer confide then, replied he, in the idle declamations of your writers. I am acquainted with that Greece of which you ſpeak: I have paſſed ſeveral years in the country, ſtudied its inſtitutions,

[x] Philem. ap. Stob. Serm. 60, p. 384.
[y] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 344.
[z] Id. de Leg. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 698.
[a] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5, p. 828.

and been witneſs to the diſſenſions to which it is a prey. Name to me, I do not ſay a whole nation, but a ſingle city, which does not every moment experience the cruelties of deſpotiſm or the convulſions of anarchy. Your laws are excellent, but they are not better obſerved than ours; for we have ſome very wiſe ones which remain ineffectual becauſe the empire is too opulent and extenſive. When the ſovereign reſpects them, we would not change our condition for yours; when he violates them, the people have at leaſt the conſolation of hoping that the thunderbolt will only fall on the principal citizens, and recoil on the hand that has launched it. We are ſometimes unhappy from the abuſe of power, but you are almoſt always ſo from the exceſs of liberty.

Theſe reflections inſenſibly induced Ariſtotle to diſcourſe on the different forms of governments, on which ſubject he had been employed ſince our departure from Greece. He had begun by collecting the laws of almoſt all nations, both Greek and barbarian [b], which he ſhewed us, arranged in order, and accompanied with remarks, in ſo many diſtinct treatiſes, to the number of more than a hundred and fifty [c]*. He flattered himſelf he

[b] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 200.
[c] Diogen. Laert. lib. 5, § 27.
* Diogenes Laertius ſays, that the number of theſe treatiſes was a hundred and fifty-eight. Ammonius, in the Life of Ariſtotle, increaſes it to two hundred and fifty-five.

ſhould one day be able to complete his collection. It contained, among others, the conſtitutions of Athens, Lacedæmon, the Theſſalians, the Arcadians, Syracuſe, Marſeilles, and even that of the little iſland of Ithaca [d].

This prodigious collection might alone have inſured the immortality of the author, but he only conſidered it as a ſcaffold by the aid of which he might erect a ſtill more noble monument. He had collected facts which preſented remarkable differences and contradictions. To derive from them conſequences uſeful to the human race, it was neceſſary to do what had not hitherto been done, to penetrate to the ſpirit of the laws, and to follow them in their effects; to examine, from the experience of ſucceſſive ages, the cauſes which preſerve or deſtroy ſtates; to propoſe remedies againſt the vices which are inherent in every conſtitution, and againſt the principles of change which are foreign to it; to prepare, in a word, for any new legiſlator, a well digeſted code from which he may ſelect the government beſt adapted to the character of his nation, according to the circumſtances of time and place [e].

This great work [f] was nearly finiſhed when we arrived at Mitylene, and was publiſhed ſome years

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[d] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. ii. p. 197.
[e] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 10, t. ii. p. 144.
[f] Id. de Rep. lib. 8, t. ii. p. 295.

after[g]. Ariſtotle permitted us to read it, and make the extract which I here ſubjoin *. I ſhall divide it into two parts.

First Part.

On the different Kinds of Government.

WE muſt firſt diſtinguiſh two kinds of government; thoſe in which public utility is the great object, and thoſe in which it is held of no account[h]. In the former claſs we place the limited monarchy, the ariſtocratical government, and the republic properly ſo called. Thus the conſtitution may be excellent, whether the ſupreme authority be confided to a ſingle perſon, be exerciſed by many, or reſide ſolely in the people[i].

The ſecond claſs comprehends tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy, which are only corruptions of the three preceding forms of government; for limited monarchy degenerates into deſpotiſm, when the ſovereign, referring every thing to himſelf, no longer acknowledges any bounds to his power[k]; the ariſtocracy becomes an oligarchy, when the ſupreme power is no longer poſſeſſed by a certain

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[g] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 10, p. 404.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[h] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 6, t. ii. p. 345.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 7, p. 346.
[k] Id. Rhet. lib. 1, cap. 8, p. 530.

number

number of virtuous perſons, but by a ſmall number of rulers, whoſe riches alone conſtitute their claim to authority; and the republican government is debaſed into a democracy when the pooreſt claſs of people have too great an influence in public deliberations [l].

As the word monarch equally ſignifies a king or a tyrant, and ſince it may happen that the power of the one may be as abſolute as that of the other, we ſhall diſtinguiſh them by two principal differences *; the one derived from the uſe which they make of their power, and the other from the diſpoſitions which they find in their ſubjects. As to the former, we have already ſaid that the king in every thing he does acts for his people, but the tyrant for himſelf alone; and as to the latter, we affirm that the moſt abſolute authority becomes lawful if the ſubjects conſent to eſtabliſh or ſupport it [m].

Purſuing theſe preliminary ideas, we ſhall find in the hiſtory of nations five kinds of kingly power.

The firſt is that which prevailed in the heroic ages. The ſovereign poſſeſſed the right of commanding the army and inflicting the ſentence of death while he had the command of it; he preſided at the ſacrifices, determined the cauſes of indivi-

[l] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 7, p. 346.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 14, t. ii. p. 357; lib. 4, cap. 10, p. 374.

duals, and tranſmitted his authority to his children [n]. The ſecond was eſtabliſhed when never-ceaſing diſſenſions had forced a city to confide the ſupreme authority to an individual, either during his life, or for a certain number of years. The third is that uſual among the barbarous nations of Aſia. The ſovereign there enjoys an immenſe power, which he has nevertheleſs received from his father, and againſt which the people have never remonſtrated. The fourth is that of Lacedæmon, which appears to be the moſt conformable to the laws, which have limited the authority of the ſovereign to the command of the armies, and to functions relative to divine worſhip. The fifth, in a word, which I ſhall call royalty, or limited monarchy, is that in which the ſovereign exerciſes in his ſtates the ſame authority as a father in the midſt of his family [o].

The laſt is the only kind of royal power which I ſhall here conſider. I ſhall not ſpeak of the firſt, becauſe it has long been almoſt every where aboliſhed; nor of the ſecond, becauſe it was merely a temporary commiſſion; nor of the third, becauſe it is only found among the Aſiatics, who are more accuſtomed to ſervitude than the Greeks and Europeans [p]; nor of that of Lacedæmon, becauſe, con-

[n] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 14, t. ii. p. 356 et 357.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 12, p. 310; lib. 3, cap. 14, p. 356.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 356.

fined within narrow limits, it only makes a part of the conſtitution, and is not in itſelf a diſtinct government.

The following then is the idea which we have formed of the true regal power. The ſovereign enjoys the ſupreme authority [q], and extends his care over every part of the adminiſtration, as well as the preſervation of the tranquillity of the ſtate.

It is his office to cauſe the laws to be executed; and as, on the one hand, he cannot enforce them againſt thoſe who violate them, if he have not a body of troops at his diſpoſal; and as on the other he may abuſe this truſt, we ſhall eſtabliſh it as a general rule that he ought to poſſeſs the power requiſite to reſtrain individuals, but not ſufficient to oppreſs the nation [r].

He may determine in caſes for which the laws have not provided [s]. The care of adminiſtering juſtice and puniſhing the guilty ſhall be confided to magiſtrates [t]. As it is impoſſible that he ſhould himſelf ſee and regulate all things, he ſhall have a council, the members of which may adviſe and inſtruct him by their knowledge and experience, and aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration of the various and minute affairs of the kingdom [u].

[q] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 14, p. 357; cap. 15, p. 359, C. cap. 16 et 17.
[r] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 15, p. 359. C.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 11, 351. E.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 11, p. 410. A.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 16, p. 361.

Taxes ſhall not be impoſed except on occaſion of a war, or ſome other neceſſity of the ſtate; nor ſhall the ſovereign inſult the poverty of the people by laviſhing their property on foreigners, ſtage-players, or courtezans[x]. It is beſides his duty, by meditating on the nature of the power with which he is inveſted, to render himſelf acceſſible to his ſubjects[y], and live in the midſt of them as a father in the midſt of his children[z]. He ſhould be more occupied by their intereſts than his own[a]; and the ſplendour which ſurrounds him ſhould inſpire reſpect and not terror[b]. Honour ſhould be the motive of all his enterpriſes[c], and the love of his people their reward[d]. He ſhould diſcern and recompenſe merit[e]; and, under his government, the rich, ſecured in the poſſeſſion of their property, and the poor, protected againſt the power of the rich, ſhould learn to entertain a juſt eſteem of themſelves, and to love and defend one of the nobleſt conſtitutions eſtabliſhed among men[f].

Yet, as the excellence of ſuch a form of go-

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[x] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 11, p. 409.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 410.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 12, p. 310.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 11, p. 410.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 11, p. 409.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 10, p. 403.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 12, p. 310.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 11, p. 409.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 10, p. 403; cap. 11, p. 410; lib. 3, cap. 4, p. 356.

vernment depends ſolely on the moderation of the prince, it is manifeſt that the ſecurity and liberty of the ſubject muſt depend on it likewiſe; and hence it is that, in the cities of Greece, the citizens, conſidering themſelves as all equals, and having all a right to participate in the ſovereign authority, fix their attention more on the inconveniences than on the advantages of a government, which may by turns be the cauſe of the happineſs or the wretchedneſs of a people *.

Royalty being only founded on the confidence which it inſpires, is deſtroyed when the ſovereign renders himſelf odious by his deſpotiſm, or contemptible by his vices §.

Under a tyrant the whole ſtrength of a nation is turned againſt itſelf. The government is engaged in a perpetual war with its ſubjects: it attacks them in their laws, in their property, in their honour, and only leaves them the deep and painful ſenſe of their miſery.

A king propoſes to himſelf to render his reign glorious, and effect the good of his people; but

* Ariſtotle has ſaid ſcarcely any thing of the great monarchies which ſubſiſted in his time, as thoſe of Perſia and Egypt, nor has he ſpoken more of the government of Macedon, though he muſt neceſſarily have been well acquainted with it. He only had in view that ſpecies of kingly power which ſometimes was eſtabliſhed in ſome of the cities of Greece, and which was of a quite different nature from that of the modern monarchies. (See Monteſquieu Eſprit des Lois, liv. 1, chap. 9, t. i. p. 224.)

§ Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 10, p. 406; et cap. 11, p. 408.

a tyrant has no other view than to draw to himſelf all the riches of his ſtates, to laviſh them on his vile pleaſures [h]. Dionyſius, king of Syracuſe, had ſo multiplied taxes, that within the ſpace of five years the property of every individual in his kingdom had paſſed into the royal treaſury [i]. As the tyrant only reigns by the fear which he inſpires, his ſecurity muſt be the ſingle object of his attention [k]. Hence while the guard of a king is compoſed of citizens intereſted in the good of the public, that of the tyrant only conſiſts of foreigners, who ſerve as the inſtruments of his fury or his caprice [l].

Such a conſtitution, if indeed it deſerves that name, contains within itſelf all the vices of the moſt corrupted governments. It naturally therefore cannot ſupport itſelf, but by the moſt violent or the moſt ſhameful means, and muſt include within it all the poſſible cauſes of its deſtruction.

Tyranny may maintain itſelf when the prince takes the precaution to cut off thoſe citizens who are too much raiſed above the reſt [m]; when he is careful to prevent the progreſs of knowledge which may enlighten, and to forbid all public entertain-

[h] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 10, p. 403.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 11, p. 407.
[k] Id. Rhet. lib. 1, cap. 8, p. 530.
[l] Id. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 10, p. 403.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 11, p. 407. Eurip. in Supplic. p. 445.

ments or meetings which may unite his ſubjects; when, after the example of the kings of Syracuſe, he beſieges them with ſpies, who continually hold them in diſquietude and dread; when by adroit artifices he ſows diſputes in families, diviſions among the different orders of the ſtate, and diſtruſt even in the moſt intimate connections; when the people, cruſhed by public labours, laden with taxes, dragged to wars purpoſely excited, and ſo depreſſed as to be incapable of all elevation of ideas or nobility of ſentiment, have neither the courage nor the means to throw off the yoke by which they are oppreſſed; when the throne is only ſurrounded by vile flatterers [n], and ſubaltern tyrants, by ſo much the more uſeful to the deſpot, as they are not reſtrained either by ſhame or by remorſe.

There is however one method that may be employed ſtill more ſucceſsfully than theſe to perpetuate ſuch an authority [o]; which is, when preſerving all the plenitude of his power, the ſovereign is willing to ſubject himſelf to forms which may attemper its rigour, and exhibit himſelf to his people rather as a father who claims them as his inheritance, than as a ferocious animal [p], of whom they muſt be the victims.

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[n] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 11, p. 407.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 408.
[p] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 16, p. 360.

As the people ought to be perſuaded that their fortune is ſacrificed to the good of the ſtate, and not to the individual advantage of the ſovereign, the monarch ſhould apply himſelf to infuſe into the minds of his ſubjects an exalted opinion of his abilities for the ſcience of government[q]. It will be very advantageous to him to poſſeſs the qualities which inſpire reſpect, and the ſemblance of the virtues which attract love; nor will it be leſs ſo that he ſhould appear attached, but without mean ſuperſtition, to the rites of religion; for the people will believe him to be reſtrained by the fear of the gods, and will not dare to riſe againſt a prince whom they protect[r].

But he ought eſpecially to avoid advancing one of his ſubjects to a power which he may abuſe[s]; and ſtill more ought he to abſtain from injuries and inſults on individuals, and from wounding the honour of families. Among the multitude of princes whom the abuſe of power has precipitated from the throne, a great number have drawn on themſelves deſtruction by the perſonal injuries of which they have been guilty, or which they have authoriſed in others[t].

By the obſervance of ſimilar maxims, arbitrary

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[q] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 11, p. 409.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 410.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 10, p. 403.

power has maintained its authority at Sicyon during a whole century, and at Corinth for nearly the ſame period[w]. The ſovereigns who governed thoſe two ſtates obtained the eſteem or the confidence of the people, ſome by their military talents, others by their affability, and others by the reſpect which, on certain occaſions, they paid to the laws. Every where elſe tyranny has ſubſiſted a longer or a ſhorter time, according as it has more or leſs neglected to conceal itſelf. It has on ſome occaſions been ſeen to diſarm the irritated multitude, and on others to break the chains of the ſlaves and call them to its aid[x]; but it is abſolutely impoſſible that a government ſo monſtrous ſhould not ſooner or later come to an end, becauſe the hatred or contempt which it inſpires[y] muſt, ſooner or later, avenge the majeſty of injured and inſulted nations.

When, after the extinction of the regal power, the ſovereign authority returns to the ſocieties from which it has emanated, ſome chooſe to commit the exerciſe of it to the body of the nation, and others to confide it to a certain number of citizens.

Then take birth two powerful factions, that of the nobles, and that of the people, both of which

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[w] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib 5, cap. 12, p. 411.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 11, p. 410.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 10, p. 406.

were before repreſſed by the authority of a ſingle chief; but after the extinction of that power, become more intent to deſtroy than to counterbalance each other. Their diviſions have almoſt every where corrupted the primitive conſtitution, and other cauſes have contributed to its change. Such are the imperfections which experience has diſcovered in the ſyſtems of all legiſlators, the abuſes to which even the moſt legitimate power is liable, and the variations which cities and nations have experienced in their power, their manners, and their relations to other ſtates. Thus, among the Greeks, all equally ardent in the love of liberty, we ſhall not find two nations, or two cities, however near to each other they may be, which have preciſely the ſame legiſlation and the ſame form of government; but we ſhall every where perceive the conſtitution incline either toward the deſpotiſm of the principal citizens, or toward that of the multitude.

It will therefore be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh ſeveral ſpecies of ariſtocracies, ſome approaching more or leſs to the perfection of which that form of government is capable, and others more or leſs tending to the oligarchy which is its corruption.

The true ariſtocracy, therefore, will be that in which the authority is found in the hands of a certain number of enlightened and virtuous magi-

ſtrates [z]. By virtue I underſtand political virtue, which is no other than the love of the public good, or of the country [a]. As all honours ſhould be beſtowed on this, it muſt become the principle of this form of government [b].

To ſecure ſuch a conſtitution, it will be neceſſary to temper it in ſuch a manner that the principal citizens may find in it the advantages of the oligarchy, and the common people thoſe of the democracy [c]. Two laws will contribute to produce both theſe effects; one of which, derived from the principle of this government, ſhall confer the ſupreme magiſtracies on perſonal qualities, without regard to fortune [d]; and the other prevent the magiſtrates from enriching themſelves by their employments, by obliging them to render an account to the public of the adminiſtration of the finances [e]. By the former of theſe laws, all the citizens may aſpire to the principal dignities of the ſtate, and the latter will induce the lower claſſes of the people to renounce a right which they will only value becauſe they believe it profitable [f].

As it will be to be feared that, at length, even

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z Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 371; cap. 15, p. 382.
a Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 7, p. 371.
b Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 372.
c Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 7, p. 396.
d Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 373.
e Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 8, p. 399.
f Id. ibid.

virtue itſelf, inveſted with ſovereign authority, will be enfeebled, or excite jealouſy, care has been taken, in many ariſtocracies, to limit the power of the magiſtrates, and to provide that it ſhall paſs into other hands every ſix months [g].

Though it may be of importance that the judges of certain tribunals ſhould be choſen from the claſs of the moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens, it will at leaſt be neceſſary that there ſhould be other tribunals, the judges of which ſhall be taken from all ranks of the people [h].

It appertains to this form of government alone to inſtitute magiſtrates who may ſuperintend the education of the children and the conduct of the women. Such a cenſorſhip would be ineffectual in a democracy, or an oligarchy; in the former, becauſe the multitude would lay claim to an exceſs of liberty; and in the latter, becauſe the ruling citizens would be the firſt to give the example of corruption and impunity [i].

This ſyſtem of government, in which the worthy man will never be diſtinct from the citizen [k], no where ſubſiſts. Were we to attempt to analyze it, other laws and other regulations would be neceſſary. Let us content ourſelves, in order to form a

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[g] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap 8, p. 398.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 16, p. 385.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 15, p. 383.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 7, p. 371.

judgment of the different ariſtocracies, to aſcend to their principle, for on that eſpecially depends the excellence of a government. The principle of the pure ariſtocracy will be political virtue, or the love of public good. If we find in any ſubſiſting ariſtocracy, that this love has a greater or leſs influence on the choice of magiſtrates, we may thence conclude that the conſtitution is more or leſs advantageous. Hence is it that the government of Lacedæmon approaches nearer to the true ariſtocracy than that of Carthage, though there is in other reſpects a great conformity between them[l]. At Lacedæmon, the magiſtrate who is choſen muſt be animated by the love of his country, and diſpoſed to favour the people; at Carthage he muſt beſides enjoy an eaſy fortune[m], on which account the latter government inclines more toward an oligarchy.

The conſtitution is in danger, in an ariſtocracy, when the intereſts of the principal citizens are not ſufficiently well connected with thoſe of the common people to prevent each of theſe claſſes from deſiring to ſeize excluſively on the ſovereign authority[n]; when the laws permit all the riches of the ſtate to paſs inſenſibly into the hands of ſome individuals; when the firſt innovations by

[l] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 11, p. 334.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 371.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 7. p. 396.

which the conſtitution is attacked are connived at[o]; and when the magiſtrates, through jealouſy or negligence, perſecute illuſtrious citizens, or exclude them from the magiſtracy, or ſuffer them to become ſufficiently powerful to enſlave their country[p].

The imperfect ariſtocracy has in ſo many reſpects a relation to the oligarchy, that we muſt neceſſarily conſider them together when we wiſh to explain the cauſes by which they may each be maintained or deſtroyed.

In the oligarchy, the ſupreme authority is in the hands of a ſmall number of rich perſons[q]. As it is eſſential to this government that the principal offices of magiſtracy ſhould be elective[r], and that the conferring of them ſhould be regulated by the cenſus, that is the fortune of individuals, riches muſt, in ſuch a ſtate, be preferred to every thing elſe, and produce a very great inequality among the citizens[s]. The deſire therefore of acquiring wealth is the principle of ſuch a government[t].

A number of cities have of themſelves choſen this form of government. The Lacedæmonians have endeavoured to introduce it among other

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[o] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 8, p. 397.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 396.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 7, p. 346; lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 366; cap. 15, p. 382.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 384. Id. de Rhet. p. 614.
[s] Id. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 1, p. 385.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 372.

ſtates, with the ſame zeal as the Athenians have laboured to eſtabliſh among them the democracy[w]; but it is every where diverſified according to the nature of the cenſus, or property which a citizen is required to poſſeſs to be admitted to the principal offices; according to the different modes in which thoſe offices are conferred; and according as the power of the magiſtrate is more or leſs reſtrained[x]. In every ſuch government, beſides, the few citizens who govern uſe every endeavour to maintain their authority againſt the many who obey[x].

The means employed to this end, in ſeveral ſtates, is to grant to all the citizens the right of attending at the general aſſemblies of the nation, to permit them to fill the offices of magiſtracy, give their votes in the tribunals of juſtice, keep arms in their houſes, and increaſe their bodily ſtrength by the exerciſes of the gymnaſium[y]. But no puniſhment is denounced againſt the poor who neglect theſe advantages, while the rich who omit them are ſubjected to a fine[z]. The indulgence ſhewn to the former, and which is apparently founded on the multiplicity of their labours and neceſſities, removes them from public buſineſs, and accuſtoms them to conſider the deliberations on the affairs of the ſtate, the care of adminiſtering juſtice,

[w] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 7, p. 397.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 5, p. 369.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 13, p. 378.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 9, p. 373.

and the other branches of government, as a heavy burthen which the rich alone are able and ought to ſupport.

To conſtitute the beſt form of the oligarchy, it is neceſſary that the property required to be poſſeſſed by the citizens accounted of the firſt claſs ſhould not be too great; for the more numerous this claſs is, with more reaſon may it be preſumed that the laws govern the ſtate, and not individuals [a]. Several offices of magiſtracy ſhould not be held at the ſame time by perſons of the ſame family, leſt ſuch a family ſhould become too powerful. In ſome cities the ſon is excluded by his father, and the brother by his elder brother [b].

To prevent property from being too unequally diſtributed, no perſon ſhould be allowed to diſpoſe of his poſſeſſions to the prejudice of his lawful heirs; nor, on the other hand, ought two inheritances to be permitted to accumulate in one perſon [c].

The common people ſhould be under the immediate protection of the government, and ſhould be more favoured than the rich in proſecutions for injuries done to them; nor ſhould any law or any influence be an impediment to their acquiring ſubſiſtance or affluence. Little jealous of thoſe

[a] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 6, p. 371.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 6, p. 393.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 8, p. 400.

dignities

dignities which only confer the honour of rendering ſervice to the country, they will with pleaſure ſee them conferred on others, if they are not deprived of the fruits of their labours[d].

To attach them ſtill more to the government, a certain number of inferior lucrative employments ſhould be given to them[e]; and they ſhould be even induced to hope that, by merit, they might be raiſed to ſome important offices, as is practiſed at Marſeilles[f].

The law which, in many oligarchies, forbids the magiſtrates to engage in commerce[g], produces two excellent effects; it prevents them from ſacrificing to their intereſt the time which they owe to the ſtate, and from exerciſing a monopoly which would ruin the other traders *.

When the magiſtrates rival each other in expending a part of their property for the embelliſhment of the capital, and in giving ſhews and public entertainments, ſuch an emulation is advantageous to the treaſury of the ſtate. It reduces within juſt bounds the exceſſive riches of ſome individuals; the people eaſily pardon an authority

[d] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 8, p. 400. Id. de Rhet. t. ii. p. 614.
[e] Id. de Rep. lib. 6, cap. 6, p. 420.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 7, p. 421.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 12, p. 412; cap. 8, p. 399.
* At Venice trade is forbidden the nobles. (Amelot, Hiſt. du Gouv. de Ven. p. 24. Eſprit des Lois, liv. 5, chap. 8.)

which manifeſts itſelf by ſimilar benefits, and are leſs attentive to the ſplendour of dignities than to the heavy duties annexed to them, and the real advantages which they themſelves derive from them [h].

But when the property which fixes the claſs of the citizens who are to be permitted to ſhare in the government, is rated too high, the number of perſons in this claſs becomes too ſmall; and preſently thoſe who, by their intrigues or their talents, have placed themſelves at the head of affairs, will endeavour to maintain their power by the ſame means; they will inſenſibly extend their privileges, aſſume the right of chooſing their aſſociates, or leaving their places to their children [i]; and at length proceed to aboliſh all legal forms, and ſubſtitute with impunity their will for the laws. The government will then have arrived at the laſt degree of corruption, and an oligarchy will be eſtabliſhed within an oligarchy, as has happened in the city of Elea [k].

The tyranny of a ſmall number of citizens will not ſubſiſt longer than that of an individual [l], but muſt be enfeebled by the exceſs of its power. The rich, who are excluded from the government,

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[h] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 6, cap. 7, p. 241.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 14, p. 380.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 6, p. 394.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 12, p. 411.

will join the multitude to effect its deſtruction. In this manner, at Cnidus, was the oligarchy ſuddenly changed into a democracy [m].

The ſame revolution may be expected when the claſs of rich citizens have cloſely united to treat all the others as ſlaves [n]. In ſome places they have even dared to take the following equally abſurd and inhuman oath: "I will do to the multitude all the miſchief in my power [o]." Yet, as the people are alike dangerous, whether they crouch to others or others crouch to them, they ought not to poſſeſs excluſively the right of judging, or conferring all the offices of magiſtracy; for then the claſs of rich citizens being reduced meanly to beg their ſuffrages, they would ſoon perceive that it is as eaſy for them to retain as to diſpoſe of the ſovereign authority [p].

The manners of a people may render a government popular which is not ſo, or ſubſtitute the oligarchy for the democracy [q]. Though theſe changes ſet the government in oppoſition to the conſtitution, they may not be dangerous, becauſe they are gradually effected, and with the conſent of all orders of the ſtate. But nothing is ſo eſſential

[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 6, p. 393.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 395.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 9, p. 401.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 6, p. 394.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 5, p. 370.

as early to reſiſt the innovations which violently attack the conſtitution; and, in fact, in a government which propoſes to maintain a kind of equilibrium between the propenſities of two powerful claſſes of citizens, the leaſt advantage gained over the eſtabliſhed laws prepares the way for its ruin. At Thurium the law did not permit any military employment to be held a ſecond time till after an interval of five years; but ſome young perſons, ſecure of the confidence of the troops, and the ſuffrages of the people, procured the law to be repealed, in deſpite of all the oppoſition of the magiſtrates, and ſoon after, by ſtill bolder enterpriſes, changed the wiſe and moderate government of that ſtate into the moſt dreadful tyranny[r].

Liberty, ſay the fanatic favourers of the popular power, can only be found in a democracy[s]: it is the principle of that government; it infuſes into each citizen the will to obey, and the ability to command; it renders him maſter of himſelf, the equal of others, and valuable to the ſtate of which he makes a part.

It is therefore eſſential to this government that all the offices of magiſtracy, or at leaſt the greater part, ſhould be conferred by lot on each individual[t]; that, excepting military employments,

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[r] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 7, p. 397.
[s] Id. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 2, p. 414.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 373.

ſcarcely any offices be conferred on the ſame perſon who has before filled them; that all the citizens be alternately diſtributed in the courts of juſtice; that a ſenate be inſtituted to prepare thoſe affairs which are finally to be determined on in the national and ſovereign aſſembly, at which all the citizens may be preſent; and that a certain premium be paid to thoſe who aſſiduouſly attend at this aſſembly, as alſo in the ſenate and the tribunals of juſtice [w].

This form of government is ſubject to the ſame revolutions as the ariſtocracy. It is attempered in thoſe ſtates where, to reſtrain an ignorant and reſtleſs populace, a moderate property is required to be poſſeſſed by thoſe who ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs [x]; in thoſe where by wiſe regulations the principal claſs of citizens are not the victims of the hatred and jealouſy of the lower orders [y]; and every where, in a word, where in the midſt of the moſt tumultuous commotions the laws have ſufficient power to enforce their authority [z]. But it becomes tyrannical [a] wherever the poorer citizens have too great an influence in public deliberations.

Several cauſes have beſtowed on them this ex-

[w] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 14, p. 380; lib. 6, cap. 2, p. 414.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 368; cap. 9, p. 373; lib. 6, cap. 2, p. 414.
[y] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 9, p. 401; lib. 6, cap. 5, p. 419.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 368.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 405.

ceſs of power: the firſt is the ſuppreſſion of the cenſus, according to which the diſtribution of offices ought to be regulated [b]; in conſequence of which the meaneſt citizens poſſeſs the right of giving their voice in public affairs: the ſecond is the premium granted to the poor and refuſed to the rich, when they give their ſuffrages either in the general aſſemblies or the tribunals of juſtice [c], and which is too ſmall to induce the latter to be aſſiduous in their attendance, though it is ſufficient to indemnify the former for the interruption of their labours; and hence that multitude of artiſans and workmen who imperiouſly raiſe their voices in thoſe auguſt places where the intereſts of the republic are diſcuſſed: the third is the power which the ſtate orators have acquired over the multitude.

Formerly this ſame multitude blindly followed the ſoldiery, who more than once have abuſed its confidence to reduce it to ſlavery [d]: and as its deſtiny is eternally to be held in ſubjection, there have ariſen, in theſe modern times, ambitious men who employ their talents to flatter its paſſions and its vices, to intoxicate it with the opinion of its power and glory, to excite its hatred againſt the rich, its contempt for law and order, and its love of independence. Their triumph is that of elo-

[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 5, p. 393.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 13, p. 378.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 5, p. 393.

quence, which ſeems only to be brought to perfection in our time[e], to introduce deſpotiſm into the boſom of liberty itſelf. The republics which are wiſely governed do not ſuffer theſe dangerous men to lead them; but wherever they acquire influence, the government ſpeedily arrives at the higheſt degree of its corruption, and the people contract the vices and the ferocity of tyrants[f].

Almoſt all our governments, under whatever form they may be eſtabliſhed, contain within themſelves many ſeeds of deſtruction. As the greater part of the Grecian republics are confined within the narrow limits of a city or a diſtrict, the diviſions of individuals, which become the diviſions of the ſtate, the misfortunes of a war which ſeems to leave no reſource, the inveterate and perpetually renewed jealouſy of the different claſſes of citizens, or a rapid ſucceſſion of unforeſeen events, may in a moment ſhake to the foundations or overturn the conſtitution. We have ſeen the democracy aboliſhed in the city of Thebes by the loſs of a battle[g], and in thoſe of Heraclea, Cumæ, and Megara, by the return of ſome principal citizens, whom the people had proſcribed to enrich the public treaſury with their ſpoils[h]. We have ſeen the form

[e] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 5, p. 392.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 369.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 3, p. 388.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 5, p. 392.

of government changed at Syracuſe by a love intrigue[i]; in the city of Eretria, by an inſult offered to an individual[k]; at Epidaurus, by a fine impoſed on another individual[l]: and how many ſeditions have there been which have not originated from more important cauſes, and which gradually ſpreading have at laſt occaſioned the moſt deſtructive wars!

While theſe calamities afflict the greater part of Greece, three nations, the Cretans, the Lacedæmonians, and the Carthaginians, have enjoyed in peace, for many centuries, a government which differs from all the others, though it unites their advantages. The Cretans, in the moſt early times, conceived the idea of limiting the power of the higheſt claſs of citizens by that of the people[m]; and the Lacedæmonians and Carthaginians, doubtleſs from their example, that of aſſociating the regal power with the ariſtocracy and democracy[n].

Ariſtotle here ſuccinctly explains the ſyſtems adopted in Crete, at Lacedæmon, and at Carthage. I ſhall ſtate what he thinks of the latter, adding a few ſlight ſtrokes to his ſketch.

At Carthage the ſovereign power is divided be-

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[i] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 4, p. 390.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 6, p. 395.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 4, p. 391.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 10, p. 332.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 9, p. 328; cap. 11, p. 334.

tween two kings *, a ſenate, and the aſſembly of the people [o].

The two kings are not taken from two ſingle families, as at Lacedæmon; but they are elected [p] annually, ſometimes from one family, and ſometimes from another. It is required that they ſhould be perſons of birth, property and virtue [q].

The ſenate is very numerous. It is the office of the kings to convene it [r]: they preſide and deliberate in it on war and peace, and the moſt important affairs of the ſtate [s]. A body of magiſtrates, to the number of a hundred and four, are appointed to maintain in it the intereſts of the people [t]. The queſtion under diſcuſſion may not be referred to the aſſembly of the nation, if opinions are unanimous; but it muſt if they are not.

In the general aſſembly the kings and ſenators explain the reaſons which have united or divided the ſuffrages. The meaneſt citizen may riſe to oppoſe the decree, or the different opinions by which it may have been prevented paſſing. The people determine in the laſt inſtance [u].

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* The Latin writers call theſe two ſupreme magiſtrates *Suffetes*, which is their true name; the Greek authors call them kings.

[o] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 11, p. 334. Polyb. lib. 6, p. 493.

[p] Nep. in Hannib. cap. 7.

[q] Ariſtot. ibid.

[r] Liv. lib. 30, cap. 7.

[s] Polyb. lib. 1, p. 33; lib. 3, p. 175 et 187.

[t] Ariſtot. ibid.

[u] Id. ibid.

All the offices of the magiſtracy, that of the kings, and thoſe of the ſenators, the judges, and the ſtrategi, or governors of provinces, are conferred by the way of election, and reſtrained within bounds preſcribed by the laws. The authority of the general of the army alone knows no limits[x]; he is abſolute, when at the head of his troops; but, on his return, muſt render an account of his conduct before a tribunal compoſed of a hundred ſenators, who examine and judge with extreme ſeverity[y].

By the prudent diſtribution and wiſe exerciſe of theſe different powers, a numerous, powerful, and active people, no leſs jealous of their liberty than proud of their opulence, have always been able to defeat every attempt to enſlave them, and, for a long ſeries of years, enjoyed a tranquillity only diſturbed by ſome tranſient ſtorms, but which however have not been able to deſtroy the primitive conſtitution[z].

Yet, notwithſtanding its excellence, this conſtitution has its defects. It is one, that the union of ſeveral offices of magiſtracy in the ſame perſon ſhould be conſidered as an honourable diſtinction[a]*, becauſe it is then ſuppoſed more advan-

[x] Iſocr. in Nicocl. t. i. p. 96. Ubbo Emm. in Rep. Carthag.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 20, p. 753. Juſtin. lib. 19, cap. 2.
[z] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 11, p. 334.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 335.

* At Venice, according to Amelot, the nobles are not permitted to hold, at the ſame time, ſeveral magiſtracies, however inconſiderable they may be. (Hiſt. du Gouvern. de Veniſe, p. 25.)

tageous to multiply duties than to diſcharge them, and the people become accuſtomed to believe that to obtain is to merit places. It is likewiſe a defect, that fortune ſhould be conſidered as much as virtue in the choice of magiſtrates [b]. Whenever, in a ſtate, money becomes the means of promotion to honours, every other is ſoon neglected; the ſole ambition of the citizen is to accumulate riches, and the government ſtrongly inclines toward the oligarchy [c].

To preſerve the equilibrium, the Carthaginians have imagined that it was neceſſary to grant ſome advantages to the people, and, at intervals, to ſend the principal perſons of that claſs to certain cities, with commiſſions which may enable them to acquire riches. This expedient has hitherto preſerved the republic; but, as it has no immediate connection with the legiſlation, and contains within itſelf a ſecret vice, its ſucceſs ought only to be attributed to chance: and if ever the people, becoming too rich and too powerful, ſhould ſeparate their intereſts from thoſe of the other citizens, the ſubſiſting laws will not be ſufficient to curb their claims, and the conſtitution will be deſtroyed [d] *.

[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 11, p. 334.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 335.
[d] Id. ibid.

* It was not long before the prediction of Ariſtotle was fulfilled. In the time of the ſecond Punic war, about a hundred years after that philoſopher, the republic of Carthage verged towards its ruin; and Polybius conſiders the authority which the people had uſurped as the principal cauſe of its decline. (Polyb. lib. 6, p. 493.)

From what has been ſaid it will be eaſy to diſcover the object which the ſupreme magiſtrate ought eſpecially to have in view in the exerciſe of his power, or, which is the ſame thing, what is the principle of government in each conſtitution. In a monarchy it is what is honourable and noble; for the prince ought to aſpire to render his reign glorious, and to ſeek glory only by honourable means [e]. In a tyranny it is the ſafety of the tyrant; for he maintains himſelf on the throne by the terror which he inſpires [f]. In an ariſtocracy it is virtue; for the leaders of the ſtate can only diſtinguiſh themſelves by the love of their country [g]. In an oligarchy it is riches; for thoſe who ſhare in the government of the ſtate are only choſen from among the rich [h]. In a democracy it is the liberty of each individual citizen [i]; but this principle degenerates almoſt every where into licentiouſneſs, and can only ſubſiſt in the government of which a ſuccinct idea is given in the ſecond part of this extract.

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[e] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 10, p. 403.
[f] Id. Rhet. lib. 1, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 530.
[g] Id. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 372.
[h] Id. ibid.
[i] Id. ibid.

SECOND PART.

On the beſt of Conſtitutions.

IF I were to give inſtructions to the leader of a colony, I would aſcend to firſt principles.

Every ſociety is an aggregate of families who, in uniting, have no other end but to labour for their common happineſs [k]. If they are not ſufficiently numerous, how ſhall it be poſſible to defend them againſt external attacks? and if their number be too great, how ſhall they be reſtrained by laws which may enſure their tranquillity? Aim not to found an empire, but a city, leſs powerful from the multitude of its inhabitants than from the qualities of its citizens. While law and order can act on every part of this body, think not of reducing its magnitude; but the moment thoſe who obey are no longer under the eyes of their rulers, be aſſured that the government has loſt a part of its influence, and the ſtate a part of its ſtrength [l].

Let your capital, ſituated near the ſea [m], be neither too large nor too ſmall; and let a healthy ſituation, a pure air, and ſalubrious waters, contribute in concert to the preſervation of the inhabitants [n]. Let the territory around it ſuffice for its

[k] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 296; lib. 3, cap. 9, p. 349.
[l] Id. ibid. lib. 7, cap. 4, p. 430.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 5, p. 431; ibid. cap. 6.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 11, p. 438.

wants, and be equally difficult of acceſs to the enemy and favourable to the communication of your own troops[o]. Let it be commanded by a citadel, if the monarchical government be preferred; let different fortified poſts protect it from the firſt fury of the populace, if the ariſtocracy be made choice of; and let it have no other defence than its ramparts, if a democracy be eſtabliſhed[p]. Let the walls be ſtrong, and capable of reſiſting the new machines which have of late years been employed in ſieges. Let the ſtreets be ſome broad and ſtraight, and others narrow and winding; the former will contribute to its embelliſhment, and the latter be of uſe in its defence in caſe of a ſurpriſe[q].

Conſtruct, at ſome diſtance, a harbour joined to the city by long walls, as is practiſed in ſeveral places in Greece. During war it will facilitate your receiving ſuccour from your allies; and during peace you may keep there that multitude of ſeamen, foreigners, or newly enfranchiſed citizens, whoſe licentiouſneſs and greedineſs of gain might corrupt the manners of the people, ſhould you receive them into the city. But let your commerce be confined to the exchange of the ſuperfluities which your territory produces for the neceſſaries

[o] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7, cap. 5, p. 431.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 11, p. 438.
[q] Id. ibid.

which it denies to you; and let your navy be only ſo far attended to as it may render you feared or courted by the neighbouring nations [r].

Let us ſuppoſe the colony eſtabliſhed, and that it is required to frame laws for its government; fundamental ones will be neceſſary to form its conſtitution, and civil to enſure its tranquillity.

You will inform yourſelf of the different forms of government which have been adopted by our legiſlators, or imagined by our philoſophers. Some of theſe ſyſtems are too imperfect, and others require too great perfection. Have the courage to compare the principles of the former with their effects, and the ſtill greater courage to reſiſt the allurements of the latter. If by the force of your genius you are able to conceive the plan of a faultleſs conſtitution, a ſuperior reaſon ſhould convince you that ſuch a plan is not capable of being carried into execution, or if, by chance, it were, that it cannot perhaps be ſuitable to all ſtates [s].

The beſt government for a people is that which is adapted to its character, its intereſts, the climate which it inhabits, and a multitude of circumſtances that are peculiar to it.

Nature has diſtinguiſhed, by ſtriking and varied features, the ſocieties ſcattered over our globe [t].

[r] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7, cap. 6, p. 432.
[s] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 1, p. 363.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 7, cap. 7, p. 433. Plat. de Rep. lib. 4, p. 435. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1320.

Thoſe of the north of Europe poſſeſs courage, but little knowledge or induſtry; they muſt therefore be free, indocile to the yoke of the laws, and incapable to govern the neighbouring nations. The people of Aſia poſſeſs all the talents of the mind, and all the reſources of the arts; but their extreme inertneſs and puſillanimity condemn them to ſervitude. The Greeks, placed between theſe extremes, and enriched with all the advantages of which they can boaſt, ſo unite courage and abilities, the love of the laws and of liberty, that they might be able to conquer and govern the world. And by what a multitude of minute ſhades has it pleaſed nature to diverſify theſe principal characters in the ſame country! Among the nations of Greece ſome poſſeſs greater intellectual powers, and others more bravery; there are alſo ſome among whom theſe ſplendid qualities are found in a juſt equilibrium [u].

By ſtudying the men of whom he has the conduct, a legiſlator may diſcover whether they have received from nature, or whether his inſtitutions can beſtow on them, ſufficient underſtanding to feel the value of virtue, and ſufficient ſtrength and ardour of mind to prefer it to every other object. He muſt reflect, examine, and doubt: a local circumſtance may ſometimes alone ſuffice to re-

[u] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7, cap. 7, p. 433.

move

move his uncertainty. If, for example, the ſoil which his colony is to occupy is ſuſceptible of great cultivation, and inſurmountable obſtacles will not ſuffer him to propoſe any other conſtitution, let him not heſitate to eſtabliſh the popular government[x]. A people addicted to agriculture are better than any other. They will never abandon the labours which require their preſence, to crowd into the forum and occupy themſelves with thoſe diſſenſions which idleneſs foments, and diſpute thoſe honours of which they are not ambitious[y]. The magiſtrates, more reſpected, will not be expoſed to the caprices of a multitude of artiſans and workmen equally inſolent and inſatiable.

On the other ſide, the oligarchy naturally eſtabliſhes itſelf in thoſe places where it is neceſſary and poſſible to maintain a numerous cavalry. As that will then conſtitute the principal ſtrength of the ſtate, a great number of the citizens muſt be able to keep horſes, and ſupport the expence which their profeſſion will require; and thus the party of the rich will obtain an authority over the poor[z].

Before we proceed further, let us examine what

[x] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 6, p. 370; lib. 6, cap. 4, p. 416.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 417.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 7, p. 420.

are the rights, and what ought to be the diſpoſitions, of the citizen.

In certain places, to be a citizen, it ſuffices to be born of a father and mother who were citizens; in others, a greater number of degrees are required in the deſcent: but it thence follows, that the firſt who have aſſumed that privilege did not rightfully poſſeſs it, and how then could they tranſmit it to their children [a]?

It is not the encloſure of a city or a ſtate which beſtows this privilege on him who inhabits it; for if ſo, it might be claimed by the ſlave as well as by the freeman [b]. If the ſlave cannot be a citizen, neither can thoſe who are in the ſervice of others, or who, by exerciſing the mechanic arts, immediately depend on the favours of the public [c]. I know that in moſt republics, and eſpecially in the extreme democracy, they are conſidered as ſuch; but in a well-conſtituted ſtate ſo noble a privilege ought not to be granted them.

Who is then the real citizen? He who, free from every other care, dedicates himſelf ſolely to the ſervice of his country, and may participate in its offices, dignities, and honours [d]; in a word, in the ſovereign authority.

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[a] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 2, p. 340.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 1.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 5, p. 343.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 1, p. 338 et 339; cap. 4, p. 341.

It hence follows, that this name agrees but imperfectly to children or decrepid old men, and cannot appertain to artisans, labourers, and freedmen [e]. It also follows, that there are no citizens but in a republic [f]; though they there share this privilege with persons to whom, according to our principles, it ought to be denied.

In the city which you shall found, every occupation that may divert the attention which is exclusively due to the interests of the country, shall be forbidden to the citizen; and this title shall only be given to those who in their youth shall bear arms in defence of the state, and who in a more advanced age shall instruct it by their knowledge and experience [g].

Thus shall your citizens truly make a part of the city: their essential prerogative shall be, to be admitted to offices of magistracy, to judge in the affairs of individuals, and to vote in the senate or the general assembly [h]; this they shall possess by a fundamental law, because the law is a contract [i] which secures the rights of the citizens. The first of their duties shall be, to place themselves in a situation to command and to obey [k]; and they shall

[e] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 1 et 5; lib. 7, cap. 9, p. 435.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 339.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 7, cap. 9, p. 435.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 339.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 9, p. 348.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 4, p. 342.

fulfil it in virtue of their inſtitution, becauſe that alone can inſpire them with the virtues of the citizen, or the love of their country.

Theſe reflections will enable us to diſcover that ſpecies of equality which the legiſlator ſhould eſtabliſh in a city.

None is admitted in an oligarchy: it is ſuppoſed, on the contrary, that the difference of fortunes muſt produce a ſimilar difference in the condition of the citizens; and that conſequently preference and diſtinctions ought only to be granted to riches[l]. In a democracy, the citizens believe themſelves all equal, becauſe they are all free; but as they have only a falſe idea of liberty, the equality which they affect deſtroys all ſubordination. Hence the ſeditions which inceſſantly ferment in the former of theſe governments, becauſe in it the multitude conſider inequality as an injuſtice[m]; and in the latter, becauſe the rich are hurt by an equality which mortifies them.

Among the advantages which eſtabliſh or deſtroy the equality of the citizens, there are three which merit ſome conſideration: liberty, virtue, and riches. I ſhall not ſpeak of nobility, becauſe it is included in this general diviſion, ſince it is only the antiquity of riches or virtue in a family[n].

[l] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 9, p. 348; lib. 5, cap. 1, p. 385.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 3, p. 389.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 373.

Nothing is ſo oppoſite to licentiouſneſs as liberty. In all governments individuals are and ought to be in ſubjection; with this difference, however, that in ſome places they are merely the ſlaves of men, and in others only the ſubjects of the laws. In fact, liberty does not conſiſt in doing whatever we pleaſe, as is maintained in certain democracies [e], but in only doing what is enjoined by the laws, which ſecure the independence of each individual; and under this point of view all the citizens may enjoy equal liberty.

I ſhall not be more diffuſe on the article of virtue. As our citizens ſhall participate in the ſovereign authority, they ſhall be all equally intereſted to maintain it, and ſhall deeply imbibe the ſame love for their country. I ſhall add, that they will be more or leſs free in proportion as they ſhall be more or leſs virtuous.

As to riches, the greater part of philoſophers have not been able to guard againſt a too natural illuſion: they have fixed their attention on the abuſe which moſt offends againſt their inclinations or their intereſt, and believed that, by rooting it out, the ſtate would continue its courſe of itſelf. Ancient legiſlators had judged it neceſſary, in the commencement of a reformation, to divide property equally among all the citizens; and hence ſome modern legiſlators, and among others Pha-

[e] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 9, p. 402.

leas of Chalcedon, have propoſed the conſtant equality of fortunes for the baſis of their ſyſtems. Some have ſuggeſted that the rich ſhould be permitted to marry only with the poor, and that portions ſhould be given with the daughters of the former, but none with thoſe of the latter. Others have wiſhed that it ſhould not be permitted to any one, to increaſe his poſſeſſions beyond a certain value preſcribed by the laws. But in limiting the property of each family, it would likewiſe be neceſſary to limit the number of children which ſhall be born in it [p]. It is not by prohibitive laws that the fortunes of individuals can be held in a kind of equilibrium: the ſpirit of diſintereſtedneſs muſt as much as poſſible be introduced among them, and ſuch regulations adopted, that the good citizens may not wiſh to increaſe their poſſeſſions, and the bad not be able [q].

Thus a difference in riches may have place among your citizens; but as this difference can occaſion none in the diſtribution of employments and honours, it will not deſtroy that equality which ought to ſubſiſt among them. They ſhall be equal, becauſe they ſhall only be ſubject to the laws; and they ſhall be all equally occupied in

[p] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 7, p. 322.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 323 et 324.

the glorious employment of contributing to the tranquillity and happineſs of their country [r].

You already perceive, that the government of which I wiſh to give you an idea will approach a democracy: but it will alſo participate of the oligarchy; for it will be a mixed government, ſo combined that it will be difficult to ſay by what name it ought to be called; and in which, nevertheleſs, the partiſans of the democracy and thoſe of the oligarchy will each find the advantages of the conſtitution they prefer, without the inconveniencies of thoſe which they reject [s].

This happy intermixture will be eſpecially ſenſible in the diſtribution of the three powers which conſtitute a republican ſtate. The firſt, which is the legiſlative, ſhall reſide in the general aſſembly of the nation; the ſecond, or the executive, ſhall appertain to the magiſtrates; the third, which is the judicial power, ſhall be confided to the tribunals of juſtice [t].

1ſt. On all queſtions which relate to peace, war, alliances, the laws, the choice of magiſtrates, the puniſhment of crimes againſt the ſtate, or the rendering of accounts by thoſe who have filled offices of importance, reference ſhall be made to the judgment of the people, who are rarely de-

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[r] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 4, p. 341; cap. 9, p. 349.
[s] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 373.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 14, p. 379.

ceived when not disturbed and inflamed by factions. When these have no influence, their votes are free, and not contaminated by vile interest; for it is impossible to corrupt a whole people: they are enlightened; for the meanest citizens have a singular discernment in discovering men distinguished for their abilities and their virtues, and a remarkable facility in forming, combining, and even rectifying their judgments [y].

The decrees of the general assembly shall not be subject to a revision, unless in the case of the condemnation of a criminal. In this instance, if the assembly acquit the accused, the cause shall be finally determined; but if it condemn him, it shall be necessary for the sentence to be confirmed, or perhaps annulled, by one of the tribunals of justice [z].

To remove from the general assembly persons of the dregs of the people, who, though they possess no property, nor exercise any mechanical profession, have yet a right to be present in it, in quality of citizens, recourse shall be had to the census, or the known state of the possessions of individuals. In an oligarchy the census is so high, that only the most opulent citizens are admitted to the assembly of the nation: in certain democra-

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[y] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 11, p. 350 et 351; cap. 15, p. 356; lib. 4, cap. 14, p. 381.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 4, p. 381.

cies it does not exiſt; and in others, is ſo low as ſcarcely to exclude any one. You will inſtitute a cenſus, by virtue of which the moſt numerous and moſt intelligent and virtuous part of the citizens ſhall have a right to vote in the public deliberations [y].

And as the cenſus is not a fixed meaſure; as it varies according to the price of commodities; and as theſe variations have been frequently ſufficient to change the nature of the government; you ſhall be careful to renew it from time to time, according to occurrences, to the property of individuals, and to the object which you have in view [z].

2d. The decrees of the general aſſembly ſhould be carried into execution by magiſtrates, the choice, number, functions, and duration of the office of whom ought to be adapted to the extent of the republic, as well as to the form of the government.

Here, as in almoſt every part of the ſubject we treat, a multitude of queſtions [a] ſuggeſt themſelves, which we ſhall paſs over in ſilence to proceed to two important points, I mean the choice and number of theſe magiſtrates. It is eſſential to the oligarchy, that they ſhould be choſen relatively to the cenſus; and to the democracy, that

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y Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 373.
z Id. ibid. lib. 5, cap. 6, p. 395; cap. 8, p. 398.
a Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 381.

that they ſhould be appointed by lot, without any regard to property [b]. You will borrow from the former the mode of election, becauſe it is the moſt proper to beſtow on the ſtate virtuous and enlightened magiſtrates; and from the example of the latter you will not be reſtricted by the cenſus, becauſe you will not fear that obſcure perſons, who are incapable of diſcharging the duties of the offices of magiſtracy, ſhould be raiſed to ſuch dignities. As to the number of magiſtrates, it will be better to multiply places than to lay too great a burthen on each department [c].

3d. The ſame intermixture of forms ſhall be obſerved in the regulations relative to the tribunals of juſtice. In the oligarchical government, a fine is impoſed on the rich who do not acquit themſelves of their judicial functions, and no ſalary appointed for the poor who diſcharge them. The contrary practice prevails in democracies. You ſhall induce both theſe claſſes of judges to be aſſiduous, by condemning the former to a pecuniary penalty when they ſhall abſent themſelves, and granting a premium for attendance to the latter [d].

After having intereſted theſe two orders of citizens in the good of the ſtate, it will be of

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[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 373.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 15, p. 382.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 9, p. 373.

importance to ſtifle in their hearts that odious rivalry which has been the deſtruction of the greater part of the republics of Greece; and this again is one of the points of greateſt conſequence in our ſyſtem of legiſlation.

Endeavour not to reconcile claims which the ambition and vices of the two parties will only eternize: the ſingle means to deſtroy them is to favour in preference the middle eſtate*, and to render it as powerful as poſſible [e]. Among this claſs of citizens you will find the pureſt morals, and greateſt regard to propriety of manners. Contented with their lot, they neither experience themſelves, nor cauſe others to feel, that contemptuous pride which riches inſpire, nor the low envy which is the offspring of want. Great cities, in which this claſs is the moſt numerous, muſt be leſs ſubject to ſeditions than ſmall ones; and the democracy, in which it is honoured, more durable than the oligarchy, which pays it but little reſpect [f].

Let the principal part of your coloniſts be of this reſpectable order; let your laws render them capable of receiving every honour and diſtinction;

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* By this middle eſtate, Ariſtotle means thoſe who enjoy a moderate fortune. Compare what he ſays concerning it with the beginning of the life of Solon, by Plutarch.

[e] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 11, p. 376. Euripid. in Supplic. v. 238.

[f] Ariſtot. ibid.

let wiſe inſtitutions continually preſerve among them the ſpirit and the love of mediocrity, and ſuffer them to have the greateſt weight in the aſſembly. Their preponderance will ſecure the ſtate from the deſigning deſpotiſm of the rich, who are always unwilling to obey, and the blind deſpotiſm of the poor, who are ever incapable to command; and hence it will reſult, that the greater part of the nation, ſtrongly attached to the government, will exert all its efforts to enſure its duration, which is the firſt element and beſt proof of a good conſtitution [s].

In every republic, a citizen becomes culpable when he becomes too powerful. If your laws are unable to prevent individuals from acquiring too great riches, and collecting around them ſuch a number of partiſans as may render them formidable, recourſe ſhall be had to the oſtraciſm, and they ſhall be baniſhed for a certain number of years.

The oſtraciſm is a violent remedy: it is perhaps unjuſt, and too often employed to gratify perſonal vengeance; but it is ſupported by great examples and authorities, and, in the caſe ſpecified, is the only reſource which can ſave the ſtate. If, nevertheleſs, a man ſhould ariſe, who, by the ſublimity of his virtues alone, ſhall attract all hearts to himſelf, I will grant that, conform-

s Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 12, p. 377; lib. 5, cap. 9, p. 400.

ably to true principles, he ought, inſtead of being proſcribed, to be placed on the throne [h].

We have already ſaid, that your citizens ſhall be either young men, who ſhall ſerve their country by their valour, or aged men, who, after having ſerved it, ſhall direct it by their counſels. From this latter claſs ſhall you chooſe the prieſts; for it cannot be decent, that the homage of a free people ſhould be offered to the gods by hands accuſtomed to mechanic and ſervile labour [i].

Public repaſts ſhall be inſtituted; for nothing contributes more to the maintenance of union [k].

All the lands of the ſtate ſhall be divided into two portions; the one deſtined to ſupply the neceſſities of the ſtate, and the other thoſe of individuals: the former ſhall be conſecrated to the maintenance of religious worſhip, and the public repaſts; and the latter ſhall be only poſſeſſed by thoſe whom I have diſtinguiſhed by the name of citizens. Both ſhall be cultivated by ſlaves brought from different nations [l].

After having regulated the form of government, you ſhall prepare a body of civil laws, all of which ſhall have a proper relation to the fundamental, and tend to bind and ſtrengthen them.

One of the moſt eſſential will be that which re-

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[h] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 13, p. 354; cap. 17, p. 361.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 7, cap. 9, p. 436.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 10, p. 436.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 10, p. 437.

gards marriages. The couples who unite ſhall not be of an age too diſproportionate [m], as nothing can more certainly ſow the ſeeds of diſſenſion and diſguſt. They ſhall neither be too young nor too old, as nothing contributes more than ſuch unions to the degeneracy of the human race. Let the girls marry at about the age of eighteen, and the men at thirty-ſeven, or nearly that age [n]; let their marriage be celebrated about the time of the winter ſolſtice [o] *; let them be permitted to expoſe their children, when they are born with too feeble a conſtitution, or other too manifeſt defects; they ſhall alſo be permitted to expoſe them, to prevent a too great exceſs of population. If this idea be repugnant to the character of the nation, fix at leaſt the number of children in each family; and if the parents ſhall tranſgreſs the law, let it be ordained that the mother ſhall deſtroy the fruit of her body before it ſhall have received the principles of life and ſenſation. Severely proſcribe adultery, and let the moſt rigorous puniſhments ſtamp ignominy on thoſe who ſhall diſhonour the marriage union [p].

Ariſtotle afterward enlarges on the manner in

[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7, cap. 16, p. 445.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 446.
[o] Id. ibid.

* M. Vargentin, in a memoir preſented to the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, in 1772, has ſhewn, from obſervations made during the courſe of fourteen years, that more children are born in the month of September than in any other month of the year. (Gazette de France, de 28 Août 1772.)

[p] Ariſtot. ibid. p. 447.

which the citizen ſhould be educated. He takes him in the cradle, and follows him through the different ages of life, the various employments of the republic, and his different relations with ſociety. He treats of the knowledge with which his mind ſhould be enlightened, and the virtues that ſhould be inſtilled into his ſoul; and, inſenſibly unfolding to his eyes the chain of his duties, calls his attention at the ſame time to the laws which oblige him to fulfil them *.

I have now given ſome of the reflections of Ariſtotle on the beſt form of government. I have above given a ſketch of the republic of Plato †, and of the conſtitutions of Lycurgus ‡ and of Solon §. Other writers, legiſlators, philoſophers, orators and poets, have publiſhed their ideas on this important ſubject; but it would be inſufferably tedious to analyſe their different ſyſtems, and that endleſs number of maxims or queſtions which they have advanced or diſcuſſed. We will therefore confine ourſelves to the few principles which are common to them all; or which, from their ſingularity, merit to be ſelected.

Ariſtotle is not the only writer who has given

* This part of the work is now loſt; but it is eaſy to judge, from the firſt chapters of the eighth book, of the manner in which Ariſtotle proceeded in the remainder of his treatiſe.

† See Chap. LIV.

‡ See Chap. XLV.

§ See Introduction, p. 129, and Chap. XIV.

us the eulogium of royalty. The greater part of philoſophers have acknowledged the excellence of this government, which they have conſidered, ſome relatively to ſociety, and others as it has relation to the general ſyſtem of nature.

The moſt excellent of conſtitutions, ſay the former, would be that in which the ſupreme authority, confided to a ſingle perſon, ſhould only be exerciſed according to laws wiſely inſtituted [q]; in which the ſovereign, raiſed above his ſubjects as much by his underſtanding and his virtues as by his power [r], ſhould be perſuaded that he himſelf, like the law, only exiſts for the happineſs of his people [s]; in which the government ſhould inſpire fear and reſpect, both at home and abroad, not only by the uniformity of its principles, the ſecreſy of its enterpriſes, and the promptneſs of their execution [t], but ſtill more by its integrity and good faith; for the word of the prince ſhould be more to be relied on than the oath of other men [u].

Every thing in nature, ſay the latter, points to unity. The univerſe is governed by the Supreme Being [x], the celeſtial ſpheres by ſo many genii; and the kingdoms of the earth, in like manner, ſhould

[q] Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 301 et 302.
[r] Iſocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 56.
[s] Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 44, p. 314.
[t] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 321. Iſocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 93.
[u] Iſocr. ibid. p. 63.
[x] Ecphant. ap. Stob. Serm. 46, p. 333.

be guided by the authority of ſingle ſovereigns, who may maintain in their reſpective ſtates that harmony which reigns throughout all nature. But to diſcharge the duties of ſo exalted a ſtation, they ſhould reflect in themſelves the virtues of that deity of whom they are the images[y], and govern their ſubjects with the tenderneſs of a father, the careful vigilance of a paſtor, and the impartial equity of the law[z].

Such are, in part, the duties which the Greeks annex to the regal power; and as they have almoſt every where ſeen princes depart from them, they only conſider this government as the model which a legiſlator ought to propoſe to himſelf, to produce only one general will from all the wills of individuals[a]. If all the forms of government exiſted conformable to their principles, ſaid Plato, the monarchical ſhould be preferred; but ſince they are all corrupted, it is beſt to live under the democracy[b].

What then is the conſtitution beſt adapted to a people extremely jealous of their liberty? The mixed government; that in which royalty, ariſtocracy, and democracy are combined by laws which

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[y] Ecphant. ap. Stob. Serm. 46, p. 323 et 324. Diotogen. ibid. p. 330.

[z] Ecphant. ibid. p. 334.

[a] Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 301. Hippod. ap. Stob. Serm. 41, p. 251.

[b] Plat. ibid. p. 303.

reſtore the balance of power whenever it inclines too much towards any one of theſe forms [c]. As this temperament may be effected in an infinite diverſity of modes, hence reſults that endleſs variety which is found in the conſtitutions of nations and the opinions of philoſophers.

The latter are much better agreed on the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing good laws, on the obedience which they require, and the changes which they ought ſometimes to undergo.

As it is not given to any ſingle mortal to maintain order by his changeable will alone, laws are neceſſary in a monarchy [d]; for without ſuch a reſtraint every government becomes tyrannical.

The expreſſion that the law is the ſoul of the ſtate, preſents a very juſt image; for, in fact, if the law be deſtroyed, the ſtate becomes only a lifeleſs body [e].

The laws ought to be clear, preciſe, relative to the climate [f], and all favourable to virtue [g]. They ſhould leave as few caſes as poſſible to the deciſion of the judges [h]. They ſhould be ſevere, but the

[c] Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 41, p. 268. Hippod. ibid. p. 251. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, p. 693. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 321; lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 373.

[d] Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 41, p. 268. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 813. Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 276. Bias ap. Plut. in Sept. Sapient. Conviv. t. ii. p. 152.

[e] Demoſth. ap. Stob. Serm. 41, p. 270.

[f] Archyt. ibid.

[g] Demoſth. Epiſt. p. 198. Id. in Timocr. p. 784. Stob. p. 270.

[h] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 513.

judges ſhould never be ſo [i]; becauſe it is better that the guilty ſhould eſcape than the innocent be condemned: in the former caſe the judgment is an error, in the latter an impiety [k].

We have ſeen ſtates loſe in inaction that ſuperiority which they had acquired by victories. This proceeded from the defect of their laws, which had hardened them to endure the labours of war, but not armed them againſt the ſweets of tranquillity. A legiſlator ought leſs to beſtow his attention on a ſtate of war, which ſhould be tranſient, than on the virtues which may teach the peaceable citizen neither to fear war nor make an improper uſe of peace [l].

The multiplicity of laws in a ſtate is a proof of its corruption and decline; and that from this reaſon, that the ſociety would be moſt happy in which any laws whatever ſhould be unneceſſary [m].

Some have wiſhed that all laws ſhould be prefaced by an explanation of their motives and ſpirit. Nothing, ſay they, can be more uſeful than to enlighten the obedience of the people, and to ſubject them by perſuaſion before they are intimidated by menaces [n].

Others conſider ignominy as the moſt effectual

[i] Iſæus ap. Stob. Serm. 46, p. 237.
[k] Antiph. ap. Stob. p. 308.
[l] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7, cap. 14, p. 444; cap. 15, p. 445.
[m] Arceſil. ap. Stob. Serm. 41, p. 248. Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 331. Tacit. Annal. lib. 3, cap. 27.
[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4, t. ii. p. 719.

puniſhment. When crimes may be redeemed by money, men become accuſtomed to affix a great value to wealth, and to diſregard guilt[o].

The more laws are excellent, the more dangerous is it to ſhake off their yoke. It would be better for a ſtate to have bad laws which ſhould be obeyed, than good ones which ſhould remain without effect[p].

Nothing is ſo dangerous likewiſe as to make frequent changes in the laws. Among the Locrians[q], he who adviſed to abrogate or alter any law, muſt make the propoſal with a halter round his neck, and forfeit his life if his advice were diſapproved *. Among the ſame Locrians, it is not permitted to torture and elude the laws by forced interpretations. If they are equivocal, and one of the parties thinks himſelf aggrieved by the explanation given of them by the magiſtrate, he may cite him before a tribunal conſiſting of a thouſand judges. Both muſt appear with the cord round their neck, and death muſt be the puniſhment of him whoſe interpretation is rejected[r]. Other legiſlators have all declared, that the laws ought not to

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[o] Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 41, p. 269.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 37. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 372.

[q] Zaleuc. ap. Stob. Serm. 42, p. 280. Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 794.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[r] Polyb. lib. 12, p. 661.

be changed but with the utmoſt circumſpection, and in caſes of extreme neceſſity.

But what are the ſolid foundations of the tranquillity and happineſs of ſtates? Not the laws which regulate their conſtitution, or which increaſe their power, but the inſtitutions which form the citizens, and give activity to their minds; not the laws which diſpenſe rewards and puniſhments, but the public voice when it makes an exact diſtribution of contempt and eſteem [s]. Such is the unanimous deciſion of legiſlators and philoſophers, of all the Greeks, and perhaps of all nations. When the nature, advantages, and inconveniences of the different forms of government are carefully inveſtigated, we ſhall find that the difference in the manners of a people is ſufficient to deſtroy the beſt of conſtitutions, or to rectify the moſt defective.

The laws, impotent in themſelves, borrow their power ſolely from manners, which are as much above them as virtue is above probity. In conſequence of the manners of a people is it that what is good and virtuous is preferred to what is only juſt, and what is juſt to what is merely uſeful. They reſtrain the citizen by the fear of the public opinion, while the laws only terrify him by the dread of puniſhment [t].

Under the empire of manners the minds of men

[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 697. Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 331.
[t] Hippod. ap. Stob. p. 249.

will diſplay elevation of ſentiment, diſtruſt of their own powers, and decency and ſimplicity in their actions. A certain modeſty will penetrate them with a ſacred reverence for the gods, the laws, the magiſtrates, the paternal power, the wiſdom of aged perſons [u], and for themſelves ſtill more than for all the reſt [x].

Hence reſults in every government the indiſpenſable neceſſity of attending to the education of children [y], as a moſt eſſential object, and training them up in the ſpirit and love of the conſtitution, in the ſimplicity of ancient times, in a word, in the principles which ought ever after to regulate their virtues, their opinions, their ſentiments, and their behaviour. All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind, have been convinced that the fate of empires depended on the education given to youth [z]; and from their reflections we may lay it down as an evident principle, that education, the laws and manners ought never to contradict each other [a]. Another principle no leſs certain is, that in all ſtates the manners of the people are conformable to thoſe of their governors [b].

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[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 698 et 701.
[x] Democr. ap. Stob. Serm. 44, p. 310.
[y] Plut. in Euthyphr. t. i. p. 2. Ariſtot. de Leg. lib. 8, cap. 1, p. 449.
[z] Diotogen. ap. Stob. p. 251.
[a] Hippod. ibid. p. 249.
[b] Iſocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 68. Æſchin. in Tim. p. 290.

Zaleucus and Charondas, not ſatisfied with directing to the maintenance of manners the greater part of the laws which they gave, the former to the Locrians of Italy *, and the latter to ſeveral ſtates of Sicily, have placed at the head of their reſpective codes [c], a chain of maxims which may be conſidered as the foundations of morality. I ſhall here give ſome of them, more clearly to ſhew in what point of view legiſlation was formerly conſidered.

All the citizens, ſays Zaleucus [d], ſhould firſt be firmly perſuaded of the exiſtence of the gods. The order and beauty of the univerſe muſt ſoon convince them, that it is not the effect of blind chance, nor the work of man. The gods are to be adored, becauſe they are the authors of all real good. Every one, therefore, ſhould prepare and purify his ſoul; for the divine being is not honoured by the worſhip of the wicked man, nor delighted with pompous ſacrifices and magnificent feſtivals: his approbation can only be obtained by good works, by a virtue conſtant in its principles and its effects, and a firm reſolution to

* According to Timæus, Zaleucus did not give laws to the Locrians (Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2, cap. 6, t. iii. p. 141. Id. ad Attic. lib. 6, ep. 1, t. viii. p. 261); but he contradicted all antiquity.

[c] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2, cap. 6, t. iii. p. 141.

[d] Zaleuc. ap. Stob. Serm. 42, p. 279; et ap. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 84.

prefer juſtice and poverty to injuſtice and ignominy.

If among the inhabitants of this city, men, women, citizens, or ſojourners, there ſhould be found any who reliſh not theſe truths, and who are naturally inclined to evil, let them remember, that nothing can ſave the guilty mortal from the vengeance of the gods; and let them inceſſantly place before their eyes the final moment of their lives, that moment in which they will reflect with ſo much regret and remorſe on the evil which they have done, and the good which they have neglected to do.

Every citizen, therefore, in all his actions, ſhould continually have the hour of death preſent to his mind; and whenever the malevolent demon ſhall attempt to influence him to evil, let him fly to the temples, to the feet of the altars, to the ſacred places, and implore the aſſiſtance of the gods. Let him likewiſe have recourſe to wiſe and good men, who will ſupport his weakneſs by a repreſentation of the rewards deſtined to virtue, and the woes which are the conſequence of injuſtice.

Reverence your parents, your laws, your magiſtrates. Love your country, and deſire not to change it for another; for that would be the beginning of treaſon. Speak no evil of any one. The guardians of the laws ſhould watch over and reſtrain offenders; but, before they puniſh them,

they ſhould endeavour to reclaim them by advice.

Let the magiſtrates in their judgments forget their individual connections and their private enmities. Slaves may be ſubjected by fear, but free men ought only to obey juſtice.

In all your deſigns and actions, ſays Charondas[e], begin by imploring the aſſiſtance of the gods, who are the authors of all things: to obtain it, abſtain from evil; for there is no ſociety between God and the unjuſt man.

Let the ſame affection reign between individual citizens and thoſe who are at the head of the government, as between children and their parents.

Sacrifice your life for your country, and be perſuaded that it is better to die with honour than to live in ignominy. Let the married pair mutually hold ſacred the faith they have vowed to each other.

The dead are not to be honoured by tears and immoderate grief, but by the remembrance of their virtues, and the offerings annually made at their tombs.

Let young perſons ſhew a proper deference to the advice of the aged who are attentive to deſerve reverence by the regularity of their lives. If the latter diveſt themſelves of modeſty, they will intro-

[e] Charond. ap. Stob. Serm. 42, p. 289.

duce into the ſtate the contempt of ſhame, and all its conſequent vices.

Deteſt infamy and falſehood; love virtue; frequent the company of thoſe who practiſe it; and aſpire to the higheſt perfection by becoming the truly good and virtuous man. Fly to the ſuccour of the oppreſſed citizen; relieve the wretchedneſs of the poor, provided it be not the fruit of idleneſs. Deſpiſe him who renders himſelf the ſlave of his riches, and ſtigmatiſe with ignominy the citizen who erects for himſelf a more magnificent dwelling than the public edifices. Let your language be regulated by decency; reſtrain your anger, and utter not imprecations even againſt thoſe who have done you an injury.

Let all the citizens continually have theſe precepts preſent to their memory; and, on the days of the feſtivals, let them be recited aloud during the public entertainments, that they may be ſtill more deeply impreſſed on all minds.

CHAP. LXIII.

Dionyſius King of Sicily at Corinth. Exploits of Timoleon.

ON our return to Athens, after an abſence of eleven years, we ſeemed, ſo to ſpeak, to arrive there for the firſt time. Death had deprived us of many of our friends and acquaintances; whole families had diſappeared, and others ariſen in their place; we were received like ſtrangers in houſes where we had before been intimate: every where we found the ſame ſtage, but other actors.

The forum inceſſantly reſounded with complaints againſt Philip, which were a ſubject of alarm to ſome, but heard with indifference by others [m]. Demoſthenes had not long before accuſed Æſchines of having taken bribes of Philip, when he was ſent into Macedonia to conclude the late peace; and as Æſchines had extolled the modeſty of the ancient orators, who, when they harangued the people, avoided all extravagant geſtures; No, no, exclaimed Demoſthenes, it is not in the aſſembly of the people, but when we are

[m] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 321 et 327.

ſent on an embaſſy, that we ought to hide our hands under our cloaks[n]. This ſtroke of pleaſantry was received with applauſe; the accuſation however had no ſucceſs.

We were for ſome time overwhelmed with queſtions concerning Egypt and Perſia. I afterwards reſumed my former reſearches. One day, as I croſſed the forum, I ſaw a great number of enquirers after news going and coming in great agitation, and ſeemingly unable ſufficiently to expreſs their ſurpriſe. I drew near to them, and enquired what had happened.—I was anſwered, Dionyſius is at Corinth.—What Dionyſius?—The king of Sicily, once ſo powerful and formidable. Timoleon has driven him from the throne, and obliged him to embark on board a galley, which has brought him to Corinth[o]. He has arrived * without eſcort, friends, or relations: he has loſt every thing except the memory of what he was.

This news was ſoon after confirmed to me by Euryalus, whom I found at the houſe of Apollodorus. He was a Corinthian with whom I was intimate, and who had formerly had connections with Dionyſius. He was to return to Corinth ſome months after, and I reſolved to accompany

[n] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 332.
[o] Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 242. Juſtin. lib. 21, cap. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 464.
* The year 343 before Chriſt.

him, to contemplate at leiſure one of the moſt ſingular phænomena of Fortune.

On our arrival in that city, we found at the door of a tavern, a fat man [p], in a mean dreſs, to whom the maſter of the houſe ſeemed to give, from pity, the wine that had been left in ſome bottles: ſome women of diſſolute life attacked him with groſs jokes, at which he laughed, and anſwered them in the ſame ſtyle; and his pleaſantries diverted the populace who were gathered round him [q].

Euryalus propoſed to me, I know not under what pretext, to alight from our carriage, and not to leave this man. We followed him to a place where ſome women, who were to ſing in the choruſes at an approaching feſtival, were exerciſed previous to their appearance in public. He made them repeat their parts, directed them in the management of their voices, and diſputed with them on the manner in which certain paſſages ought to be given [r]. He thence went to a perfumer's, where we unexpectedly ſaw the philoſopher Diogenes, and the muſician Ariſtoxenus *, who had arrived at Corinth a few days before. The former, approaching the ſtranger, ſaid to him: You do not deſerve what has befallen you.—Do you

[p] Juſtin. lib. 21, cap. 2.
[q] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 242.
[r] Id. ibid.
* No doubt the ſame who was the author of a treatiſe on muſic, ſtill extant, and inſerted in the Collection of Meibomius.

then compaſſionate my misfortunes? replied the unhappy man. I thank you for your kindneſs.—I compaſſionate thy misfortunes! replied Diogenes; thou art much miſtaken, vile ſlave! thou oughteſt to live and die, like thy father, a prey to all the terrors which tyrants ſhould feel; and my indignation riſes to ſee thee in a city where thou mayeſt yet, without fear, enjoy ſome pleaſures[s].

What, ſaid I to Euryalus, with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, is this the king of Syracuſe? It is, replied he, but he does not know me; his ſight is impaired by exceſſive drinking[t]: let us liſten to the remainder of the converſation. Dionyſius ſupported his part in it with equal wit and moderation. Ariſtoxenus aſked him the reaſon of the diſgrace of Plato. A tyrant, anſwered he, is beſieged by every kind of evil, and the moſt dangerous is, that his friends will conceal from him the truth. I liſtened to their advice, and obliged Plato to leave my court. What was the conſequence? I was king of Syracuſe, and now am a ſchoolmaſter at Corinth[u]. In fact, we more than once ſaw him in a croſs-way, teaching children the principles of grammar[x].

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[s] Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 243.

[t] Ariſtot. et Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 10, p. 439. Juſtin. lib. 21, cap. 2.

[u] Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 243.

[x] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 3, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 310. Id. ad Famil. lib. 9, epiſt. 18, t. vii. p. 317. Juſtin. lib. 21, cap. 5. Lucian. Somn. cap. 23, t. ii. p. 737. Val. Max. lib. 6, cap. 9. Extern. No. 6.

The ſame motive which had induced me to go to Corinth daily brought thither a number of ſtrangers; ſome of whom, at the ſight of this unhappy prince, manifeſted emotions of pity [y]; but the greater part dwelt with pleaſure on a ſpectacle which the circumſtances of the times rendered more intereſting. As Philip ſeemed to be on the point of enſlaving Greece, they ſatiated on the king of Sicily that hatred which they had conceived againſt the king of Macedon. The inſtructive example of a tyrant ſuddenly plunged into the loweſt humiliation, was ſoon the only conſolation of thoſe haughty republicans. Some time after, the Lacedæmonians returned no other anſwer to the menaces of Philip than theſe energetic words, *Dionyſius is at Corinth* [z].

We converſed ſeveral times with Dionyſius. He freely confeſſed his faults, no doubt becauſe it had coſt him little to commit them. Euryalus wiſhed to know what he thought of the homage that had been rendered him at Syracuſe. I entertained at my court, anſwered he, a number of ſophiſts and poets; I had no eſteem for them, but they acquired me a great character [a]. My courtiers perceived that my ſight began to grow weak, and they became, as I may ſay, totally blind. They could

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y Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 242.
z Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. cap. 8.
a Plat. Apophth. t. ii. p. 176.

no longer ſee any thing: when they met in my preſence, they ran one againſt the other; and at our entertainments I was obliged to guide their hands, with which they ſeemed to feel about the table [b]. And were you not offended at this meanneſs? ſaid Euryalus. Sometimes, replied Dionyſius, but it is ſo ſweet to pardon!

At this moment, a Corinthian, who affected to be witty, and whoſe honeſty was ſuſpected, appeared at the threſhold of the door, and, to ſhew that he had not a poniard concealed under his robe, ſhook it ſeveral times, as thoſe do who are admitted into the preſence of tyrants. That ceremony, ſaid Dionyſius to him, would be better placed, were you to obſerve it when you leave us [c].

A ſhort time after, another perſon came in and fatigued him with his importunities. Dionyſius whiſpered us, with a ſigh: Happy are thoſe who have learned to ſuffer from their childhood [d]!

Similar inſults were every moment repeated, and, indeed, he himſelf appeared to ſeek them. He paſſed his life in taverns, in the ſtreets, and among the loweſt of the people, whom he had made the companions of his pleaſures. It was eaſy at once to diſcern in him the low propenſities which he

[b] Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. 10, p. 439. Plut. de Adul. t. ii. p. 53.
[c] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4, cap. 18. Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 243.
[d] Stob. Serm. 110, p. 582.

had received from nature, and the elevated ſentiments which he derived from his former condition. He ſpoke like a wiſe man, but acted like a fool. I was unable to explain the myſtery of his conduct. A Syracuſan who had obſerved him with attention ſaid to me: His mind is too feeble and trivial for him to behave with greater propriety in adverſity than in proſperity; and he is beſides ſenſible that the ſight of a tyrant, even though he is dethroned, excites diſtruſt and fear in free citizens. Should he prefer obſcurity to that meanneſs by which he now degrades himſelf, his tranquillity would be ſuſpected by the Corinthians, who favoured the revolt of Sicily. He fears leſt they ſhould imagine there is reaſon to fear him, and ſaves himſelf from their hatred by courting their contempt [e].

The latter he had completely acquired during my ſtay at Corinth, and afterward amply merited that of all Greece. Whether from wretchedneſs or derangement of mind, he joined a company of the prieſts of Cybele, and went with them from town to town, with a tympanum in his hand, ſinging and dancing round the image of the goddeſs, and begging from the by-ſtanders a trifling alms [f].

Before he acted a part in theſe low ſcenes, he

[e] Juſtin. lib. 21, cap. 5. Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 242.

[f] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9, cap. 8. Athen. lib. 12, cap. 11, p. 541. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. lib. 10, p. 1824.

had obtained permiſſion to leave Corinth, and travel through Greece. The king of Macedon received him with diſtinction; and, in their firſt converſation, Philip aſked him, how it had happened that he had loſt that kingdom of which his father had kept poſſeſſion for ſo long a time. "Becauſe," replied he, "I inherited the power of my father, but not his fortune [g]." A Corinthian had before put to him the ſame queſtion, and he had then anſwered: "When my father aſcended the throne, the people were tired of the democracy; when they drove me from it, they were weary of tyranny [h]." One day, at the table of the king of Macedon, the converſation turned on the poetry of Dionyſius the elder; when Philip aſked him, what time his father could find to compoſe ſo great a number of works: "That," replied he, "which you and I paſs here in drinking [i]."

We have ſeen above *, that, after the death of his brother, Timoleon had, for ſome time, left Corinth, and for ever renounced public affairs. He had paſſed near twenty years in this voluntary exile [k], when the people of Syracuſe, no longer able to reſiſt their tyrants, implored the aid of the Corinthians, from whom they derived their origin.

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[g] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12, cap. 60.
[h] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 176.
[i] Id. in Timol. t. i. p. 243.
* See Chap. IX.
[k] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 238.

The latter resolved to levy troops; but as they hesitated concerning the choice of a general, some unknown person by chance mentioned Timoleon, and his name was immediately re-echoed with universal acclamation [l]. The prosecution formerly commenced against him had only been suspended, and the judges now resolved that the decision should be referred to himself. Timoleon, said they to him, according to the manner in which you conduct yourself on the present occasion, we shall conclude that you have put to death a brother or a tyrant [m].

The Syracusans believed themselves destitute of all resource. Icetas, the chief of the Leontines, whose succour they had demanded, thought only of enslaving them, and had entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians. Master of Syracuse, he held Dionysius besieged in the citadel, and the fleet of Carthage cruised near the harbour to intercept that of Corinth. In the interior parts of the island, a fatal experience had taught the Grecian cities to distrust all who were eager to offer them aid [n].

Timoleon set sail with ten galleys and a small number of soldiers [o], and, escaping the Carthaginian fleet, arrived in Italy, and thence proceeded

[l] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 238. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 459.
[n] Plut. ibid. p. 241. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 461.
[o] Plut. ibid. p. 239. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 462

to Tauromenium in Sicily. Between that city and Syracuſe is the city of Adranum, ſome of the inhabitants of which had invited Icetas, and others Timoleon; who both marched at the ſame time, the former at the head of five thouſand men, and the latter with twelve hundred. At the diſtance of thirty ſtadia from Adranum, Timoleon learned that the troops of Icetas had arrived, and were preparing to encamp around the city. Immediately he haſtened his march, and fell on them with ſuch impetuoſity, and in ſuch good order, that they fled without reſiſtance, leaving him maſter of their camp, their baggage, and a great number of priſoners.

This ſucceſs immediately changed the diſpoſition of men's minds, and the face of affairs. The revolution was ſo rapid that Timoleon, within fifty days after his arrival in Sicily, ſaw the different ſtates of that iſland court his alliance, ſome of the tyrants join their forces to his [p], and Dionyſius himſelf ſurrender at diſcretion, and give up to him the citadel of Syracuſe with the treaſures and troops which he had collected.

It is not my intention minutely to deſcribe all the circumſtances of this glorious expedition; I ſhall only ſay, that if Timoleon, while yet young, ſhewed in battle the maturity of an advanced age,

[p] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 241 et 243. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 463.

he exhibited in the decline of life all the warmth and activity of youth[q]; that he diſplayed all the talents and qualities of a great general; that, at the head of a ſmall number of troops, he delivered Sicily from the tyrants by which it was oppreſſed, and defended it againſt a power ſtill more formidable that wiſhed to enſlave it; that, with ſix thouſand men, he put to flight an army of ſeventy thouſand Carthaginians[r]; and, in a word, that his plans were formed with ſo much wiſdom, that he appeared to be the maſter of fortune, and to diſpoſe at pleaſure of events.

But the glory of Timoleon conſiſts not in this continuance of rapid ſucceſs, which he himſelf attributed to fortune, and the luſtre of which he transferred to his country[s]; it is founded on a ſucceſſion of conqueſts more worthy of the gratitude of men.

The ſword had deſtroyed one part of the inhabitants of Sicily, and great numbers of thoſe who remained, flying from the oppreſſion of their tyrants, were diſperſed throughout Greece, in the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, and on the coaſts of Aſia. Corinth, animated with the ſame ſpirit as her general, engaged them by her deputies to return to their country. She ſupplied them with ſhips,

[q] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 248. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 471.
[s] Plut. ibid. p. 250 et 253.

leaders, an eſcort, and, on their arrival in Sicily, allotted lands to be divided among them. At the ſame time heralds proclaimed, on the part of the Corinthians, at the ſolemn games of Greece, that they acknowledged the independence of Syracuſe and of all Sicily [t].

At theſe ſhouts of liberty, which reſounded likewiſe throughout all Italy, ſix thouſand men repaired to Syracuſe; ſome to enjoy there the rights of citizens, and others to be diſtributed in the interior parts of the iſland [u].

The form of government had recently undergone frequent revolutions [x], and the laws had loſt their vigour. The latter had been drawn up for the Syracuſans by an aſſembly of enlightened men, at the head of whom was that Diocles, to whoſe memory a temple was erected, which the elder Dionyſius cauſed to be demoliſhed. This ſevere legiſlator had forbidden any perſon to appear with arms in the forum, under pain of death. Some time after, the enemy having made an incurſion into the environs of Syracuſe, he left his houſe with a ſword in his hand; and, learning at the ſame time that there was a tumult in the forum, he immediately ran thither, without thinking of the weapon he carried with him; on which ſome perſon

[t] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 247. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 472.
[u] Plut. ibid. Diod. ibid. p. 473; lib. 19, p. 652.
[x] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 399.

exclaimed: You have abrogated your own law. Say rather I have confirmed it, anſwered he, and inſtantly plunged his ſword into his breaſt [y].

His laws eſtabliſhed the democracy; but, to correct the vices of this government, they puniſhed with rigour every ſpecies of injuſtice, and, that nothing might be left to the caprice of judges, provided as much as poſſible a deciſion for each conteſtation, and a puniſhment for every offence. Yet, beſides that they are written in old language, their extreme preciſion occaſions obſcurity. Timoleon reviſed them, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionyſius, two Corinthians, whom he had invited to aſſiſt him [z]. Thoſe which related to individuals were preſerved with explanations that might determine their meaning; thoſe that regarded the conſtitution were amended, and the licentiouſneſs of the people repreſſed without detriment to their liberty. To enſure to them the perpetual enjoyment of that liberty, he invited them to deſtroy all thoſe citadels which had become the haunts of tyrants [a].

The powerful republic of Carthage forced to ſue for peace to the Syracuſans; the oppreſſors of Sicily ſucceſſively extirpated; her cities reſtored to their former ſplendour; her fields covered with

[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 162.
[z] Plut. in Timol. p. 248. Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 263; lib. 16, p. 473.
[a] Nep. in Timol. cap. 3.

harveſts; a flouriſhing commerce, concord, and happineſs: ſuch were the benefits which Timoleon diffuſed over that beautiful country [b], and ſuch the fruits which he himſelf gathered.

Having voluntarily returned to the condition of a private individual, he ſaw the reſpect paid to him increaſe from day to day. The people of Syracuſe obliged him to accept in their city a diſtinguiſhed houſe, and an agreeable retreat in the environs, where he paſſed his days in peace with his wife and children, whom he had ſent for from Corinth. He there inceſſantly received the tribute of eſteem and gratitude which was paid to him by the Syracuſans, who conſidered him as their ſecond founder. Whatever treaties or regulations were made throughout Sicily, he was reſorted to from every place, that they might be ſubmitted to his judgment and experience, and nothing was done without his approbation [c].

In the latter part of his life he loſt his ſight [d]. The Syracuſans, more affected at his misfortune than he was himſelf, redoubled their reſpect and attention. They brought foreigners who viſited their country to ſee him: Behold, ſaid they, our benefactor and our father! He has preferred to the ſplendid triumph which awaited him at Corinth, to the glory which he would have acquired

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 473.
[c] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 253.
[d] Nep. in Timol. cap. 4.

in Greece, the pleaſure of living in the midſt of his children [e]. Timoleon returned to the eulogiums they laviſhed on him only this modeſt anſwer; "The gods had decreed to ſave Sicily: I thank them that they choſe me to be the inſtrument of their goodneſs [f]."

The love of the Syracuſans for their deliverer was ſtill more conſpicuous when any important queſtion was to be diſcuſſed in the general aſſembly. Deputies were ſent to requeſt his preſence; he came in a chariot; and the moment he appeared all the people ſaluted him with loud ſhouts. Timoleon ſaluted them in return; and, after the tranſports of joy and affection had ſubſided, informed himſelf of the ſubject of their deliberations, and gave his opinion, which the whole aſſembly adopted in their ſuffrages. On his return he again croſſed the forum, followed by the ſame acclamations till he was out of ſight [g].

The Syracuſans never believed they had ſufficiently expreſſed their gratitude. They decreed that his birth-day ſhould be celebrated as a feſtival, and that they ſhould requeſt a general from Corinth whenever they were engaged in a war with a foreign nation [h].

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[e] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 254.
[f] Nep. in Timol. cap. 4.
[g] Plut. ibid.
[h] Id. ibid. Nep. in Timol. cap. 5.

At his death, the public grief only found conſolation in the honours beſtowed on his memory. Time was allowed for the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities to repair to Syracuſe, to be preſent at the funeral ceremonies. Youths, choſen by lot, bore on their ſhoulders the body extended on a couch richly ornamented. An innumerable multitude of men and women followed, crowned with flowers, habited in white robes, and making the air reſound with the name and praiſes of Timoleon; but their groans and tears ſtill more evinced their affection and their grief.

When the body was laid on the funeral pile, a herald read with a loud voice the following decree: "The people of Syracuſe, in gratitude to Timoleon, who deſtroyed their tyrants, conquered the barbarians, reſtored ſeveral great cities, and gave laws to the Sicilians, have reſolved to conſecrate two hundred minæ to his funeral, and annually to honour his memory by muſical competitions, horſe-races, and gymnaſtic games [i]."

Other generals have ſignalized themſelves by more ſplendid conqueſts, but none ever performed actions ſo truly great. He undertook the war to effect the deliverance of Sicily, and, when he had completed his deſign, had no other ambition than to be beloved.

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[i] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 255.

He cauſed the ſovereign authority, while he was inveſted with it, to be univerſally reſpected and honoured; and, when he had reſigned it, paid it equal reverence with the other citizens. One day, in full aſſembly, two orators dared to accuſe him of malverſation in the employments he had held; and when the people roſe againſt them with indignation, Timoleon reſtrained them, ſaying: "I have only undergone ſo many labours, and braved ſuch various dangers, to enable the meaneſt citizen to defend the laws, and freely to declare his opinion [k]."

He exerciſed over all hearts an abſolute dominion, becauſe he was mild, modeſt, ſimple, diſintereſted, and, above all, unimpeachably juſt. So many virtues diſarmed thoſe who might have envied the ſplendour of his actions, and the ſuperiority of his abilities. Timoleon experienced that, after having rendered great ſervices to a nation, it is ſufficient to leave it to itſelf to become the object of its adoration.

[k] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 253. Nep. in Timol. cap. 5.

CHAP. LXIV.

Continuation of the Library. Phyſics. Natural Hiſtory. Genii.

ON my return from Perſa, I again viſited Euclid. A part of his library ſtill remained which I wiſhed to examine; and I found him in it, in company with Meton and Anaxarchus. The former was of Agrigentum in Sicily, and of the ſame family as the celebrated Empedocles; the latter was of Abdera in Thrace, and of the ſchool of Democritus: each had a book in his hand, and appeared abſorbed in profound meditation.

Euclid ſhewed me ſeveral treatiſes on animals, plants, and foſſils. I am not very rich, ſaid he, in theſe kind of works; for a taſte for natural hiſtory, and phyſics, properly ſo called, has only been introduced among us within theſe few years. Not but ſeveral men of genius have formerly employed themſelves in reſearches into nature. I have ſome time ago ſhewn you their works; and you recollect, no doubt, that diſcourſe in which the high prieſt of Ceres gave you a ſuccinct idea of their ſyſtems *.

* See Chap. XXX.

You then learned that they ſought to obtain a knowledge of cauſes rather than effects, of the matter of beings rather than their forms[l].

Socrates directed philoſophy toward public utility; and his diſciples, after his example, dedicated their enquiries to the ſtudy of man[m]. That of the reſt of the univerſe, ſuſpended during near a century, and reſumed in our time, is continued with more propriety and diſcernment. Thoſe general queſtions which were the ſubject of diſpute among the ancient philoſophers are indeed diſcuſſed; but endeavours are made at the ſame time to aſcend from effects to cauſes, and from the known to the unknown[n]. With this view our philoſophers deſcend more to particulars, and begin to collect and compare facts.

An eſſential defect formerly retarded the progreſs of ſcience: ſufficient attention was not paid to explain the eſſence of each body in particular[o], nor to define the terms employed; and this negligence had at laſt inſpired ſuch diſguſt, that the ſtudy of natural philoſophy was abandoned preciſely at the moment when the art of definition began, that is to ſay, in the time of Socrates[p].

[l] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2, cap. 2, t. i. p. 329. Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. i. p. 967 et 968.

[m] Id. de Part. Anim. p. 971.

[n] Id. ibid. p. 967. Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 315.

[o] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2, cap. 2, p. 329.

[p] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. i. p. 971. Id. Metaph. lib. 1, cap. 6, t. ii. p. 848.

At theſe words Anaxarchus and Meton approached us. Has not Democritus, ſaid the former, given accurate definitions? And did not Empedocles, ſaid the latter, pay particular attention to the analyſis of bodies? More frequently than the other philoſophers, anſwered Euclid, but not ſo often as they ſhould have done [q]. The converſation then became more animated; Euclid warmly defended the doctrine of Ariſtotle his friend, and Anaxarchus and Meton that of their countrymen. The latter more than once accuſed Ariſtotle of having altered in his works the ſyſtems of the ancients, that he might combat them with more advantage [r]. Meton went ſtill farther; he affirmed that Ariſtotle, Plato, and even Socrates himſelf, had borrowed from the writings of the Pythagoreans of Italy and Sicily almoſt all that they had taught concerning nature, politics, and morals. It was in thoſe happy countries, added he, that philoſophy received its birth, and to Pythagoras are mankind indebted for that benefit [s].

I entertain the moſt profound veneration for that great man, anſwered Euclid; but ſince he and other philoſophers have appropriated to themſelves, without acknowledgment, the riches of Egypt,

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[q] Ariſtot. de Part. Anim. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. i. p. 970.

[r] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. § 53, p. 49. Bruck, Hiſtor. Philoſ. Diſſert. Prælim. p. 14, et lib. 2, cap. 1, p. 464. Moſhem. ad Cudw. cap 1, § 7, not. y.

[s] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 49. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316.

the eaſt, and all the nations which we name barbarians[t], have not we the ſame right to convey them into Greece? Let us mutually pardon each other theſe thefts, and have the courage to render to my friend the juſtice which he merits. I have frequently heard him ſay, that opinions ſhould be diſcuſſed with the equity of an impartial judge[u]: if he has offended againſt this rule, I condemn him. He does not always name the authors from whom he has derived his knowledge; becauſe he has declared in general that his deſign was to profit by them[x]. He cites them more frequently when he refutes them, becauſe the celebrity of their names was but too capable to give credit to the errors which he wiſhed to deſtroy.

Ariſtotle has availed himſelf of the treaſures of knowledge accumulated by your labours and ours; he will increaſe them by his own, and, tranſmitting them to poſterity, will erect the moſt noble of monuments, not to the vanity of an individual, but to the glory of all the ſchools of Greece.

I was acquainted with him at the academy; our friendſhip for each other was ſtrengthened by time; and, ſince he has left Athens, I have maintained with him an unintermitting correſpondence. You can only judge of him from the ſmall number of

[t] Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 2. Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. 5, p. 355. Bruck, Hiſt. Philoſ. lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 47.
[u] Ariſtot. de Cœl. lib. 1, cap. 10, t. i. p. 446.
[x] Id. de Mor. lib. 10, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 144.

works which he has publiſhed: inform yourſelves of the extenſive nature of his comprehenſive plans, and then cenſure, if you can dare to do it, his errors and omiſſions.

Nature, who is ſilent to the greater part of men, early informed him that ſhe had choſen him for her confident and interpreter. I ſhall not tell you that, born with the moſt happy diſpoſitions, he made an uncommonly rapid progreſs in the ſciences and arts; that in his early youth he devoured the works of the philoſophers, and relaxed his mind after his graver ſtudies with the writings of the poets; and that he made the knowledge of every age and country his own[y]: this would be to praiſe him as the generality of great men are praiſed. What he is diſtinguiſhed by is the taſte and genius of obſervation; the faculty of uniting in his reſearches the moſt ſurpriſing activity with the moſt tenacious conſtancy; and that piercing diſcernment, that extraordinary ſagacity, which conducts him inſtantaneouſly to conſequences, and almoſt inclines us to believe that his mind acts rather by inſtinct than by reflection: it is, in a word, the conception that the whole of what art and nature preſent to our eyes is only an immenſe ſucceſſion of facts, appertaining all to one common chain, and frequently too ſimilar not to be eaſily con-

[y] Ammon. Vit. Ariſtot.

founded,

founded, and too different not to require to be diſtinguiſhed. Hence the courſe he has taken to ſecure his progreſs by doubt [z]; to enlighten it by the frequent uſe of definitions, diviſions, and ſubdiviſions; and not to advance toward the abode of truth till he has explored the confines of the encloſure in which ſhe is ſhut up.

Such is the method which he will follow in the execution of a plan that any other than himſelf would fear to attempt; I mean the general and particular hiſtory of nature. He will begin from the great and ſtupendous maſſes; the origin or eternity of the world [a]; the cauſes, principles, and eſſence of beings [b]; the nature and reciprocal action of the elements; and the compoſition and diſſolution of bodies [c]. In this work he will revive and diſcuſs the queſtions concerning infinity, motion, a vacuum, ſpace, and time [d].

He will deſcribe, in whole or in part, whatever exiſts or paſſes in the heavens, and in the interior parts, or on the ſurface of our globe; in the heavens, the meteors [e], the diſtances and revolutions of the planets, the nature of the ſtars, and the

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[z] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 3, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 858.
[a] Id. de Cœl. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. i. p. 432.
[b] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 1 et 2, t. i. p. 315, &c. Id. Metaph. t. ii. p. 838.
[c] Id. de Gener. et Corrupt. t. i. p. 493, &c. Diog. Laert. lib. 5, § 25.
[d] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 3, 4, &c.
[e] Id. Meteor. t. i. p. 528.

ſpheres to which they are attached [f]; in the boſom of the earth, foſſils, minerals [g], and the violent concuſſions which overturn the globe [h]; and, on its ſurface, the ſeas, rivers [i], plants [k], and animals [l].

As man is ſubject to an infinity of neceſſities and duties, he will conſider whatever relates to him. He will treat of the anatomy of the human body [m], the nature and faculties of the ſoul [n], the objects and organs of ſenſation [o], the rules proper to guide the moſt ſubtle operations of the mind [p], and the moſt ſecret emotions of the heart [q]; and on laws [r], governments [s], ſciences, and arts [t]. On all theſe intereſting objects the hiſtorian will unite his own judgment and experience to thoſe of preceding ages; and, conformably to the practice of many philoſophers, continually applying phyſics

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[f] Ariſtot. de Cœl. lib. 2, t. i. p. 452. Id. Aſtronom. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 5, § 26.

[g] Id. Meteor. lib. 3, cap. 6, t. i. p. 583.

[h] Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 8, p. 566.

[i] Id. ibid. cap. 2, p. 551, &c.

[k] Diog. Laert. lib 5, § 25.

[l] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. Id. de Animal. Inceſſ. Part. Gener. t. i. Diog. Laert. ibid.

[m] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 1, cap. 7, p. 768, &c. Diog. Laert. ibid.

[n] Ariſtot. de Anim. t. i. p. 616. De Mem. ibid. p. 678.

[o] Id. de Senſ. ibid. p. 662.

[p] Id. Categ. Analyt. Topic. t. i. p. 14, &c. Diog. Laert. ibid. § 23 et 24.

[q] Ariſtot. de Mor. Magn. Mor. De Virt. et Vit. t. ii. p. 3, &c.

[r] Diog. Laert. ibid. § 26.

[s] Ariſtot. de Rep. t. ii. p. 296.

[t] Diog. Laert. ibid. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. lib. 3, cap. 6 et 7, t. ii. p. 107. &c.

to morals, will increaſe our knowledge to render us more happy.

Such is the plan of Ariſtotle, as far as I have been able to underſtand it from his converſations and his letters; but I know not whether he will be able to follow the order which I have here pointed out. And why ſhould he not? ſaid I. Becauſe, anſwered he, certain ſubjects require preliminary illuſtrations. Without leaving his cloſet, in which he has collected a moſt valuable library [u], he will be able to treat on a great number of ſubjects; but when he ſhall come to give the deſcription and hiſtory of all the animals ſcattered over the earth, what a long and laborious courſe of obſervations will be required to complete ſuch a work! Yet his courage is only rendered more ardent by obſtacles; and, beſides the materials of which he is already in poſſeſſion, he founds very reaſonable hopes on the patronage of Philip, whoſe eſteem he has deſervedly acquired [x]; and on that of Alexander, whoſe education he has undertaken to ſuperintend. If it be true, as is reported, that this young prince has already manifeſted a lively taſte for the ſciences [y], we may hope that when he

[u] Strab. lib. 13, p. 608. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 3, cap. 17.

[x] Aul. Gell. lib. 9, cap. 3. Ammon. Vit. Ariſtot. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4, cap. 19.

[y] Plut. de Fort. Alexand. t. ii. p. 327, 328, &c.

comes to the throne he will enable his tutor to proceed ſucceſsfully in his deſign [z].

Scarcely had Euclid ended when Anaxarchus thus replied: I might attribute to Democritus the ſame plan that you have aſcribed to Ariſtotle. I here ſee the numberleſs works which he has publiſhed on nature, and the different parts of the univerſe; on animals, plants, the ſoul of man, his ſenſes, duties, and virtues; on medicine, anatomy, agriculture, logic, geometry, aſtronomy, geography, and, I will add, on muſic and poetry [a]. I ſhall not ſpeak of that enchanting ſtyle by which he has diffuſed graces over the moſt abſtract ſubjects [b]. He is univerſally allowed to merit the firſt rank among thoſe natural philoſophers who have referred effects to cauſes. In his writings we admire a ſucceſſion of novel ideas, ſometimes too bold, but often happy. You know that, after the example of Leucippus, his maſter, whoſe ſyſtem he brought to perfection [c], he admitted a vacuum, atoms, and vortices; that he conſidered the moon as another earth, covered with inhabitants [d]; that he thought the milky-way to conſiſt of a multitude of ſmall ſtars [e]; that he reduced all

[z] Plin. lib. 8, cap. 16, t. i. p. 443.
[a] Diog. Laert. lib. 9, § 46. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 803.
[b] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1, cap. 11, t. i. p. 141.
[c] Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſoph. t. i. p. 1187.
[d] Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 2, cap. 25, t. ii. p. 891.
[e] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1, cap. 8, t. i. p. 538. Plut. ibid. p. 893.

our ſenſes to that of feeling [f]; and that he conſtantly denied that colours and other ſenſible qualities were inherent in bodies [g].

Some of theſe ideas had before been ſuggeſted [h], but he had the merit of adopting and extending them. He was the firſt who conceived others; and poſterity may be enabled to determine whether they were ſallies of genius or wanderings of the mind: future ages may perhaps diſcover with certainty what he has only been able to conjecture. If I could ſuſpect your philoſophers of jealouſy, I ſhould ſay that, in their works, Plato affects not to name him, and Ariſtotle inceſſantly to attack him.

Euclid exclaimed againſt this cenſure; and the queſtions already treated were reſumed. Sometimes each combatant ſuſtained the conteſt without a ſecond, and ſometimes the third had to defend himſelf againſt the attacks of the other two. I ſhall ſuppreſs the particulars of the diſpute, to give the concluſions I drew from it; and explain, in a few words, the opinions of Ariſtotle and Empedocles on the origin and government of the univerſe. I have already, in another place, given that of Democritus on the ſame ſubject *.

[f] Ariſtot. de Senſ. cap. 4, t. i. p. 669.
[g] Id. de Anim. lib. 3, cap. 1, t. i. p. 649. Sext. Empir. adv. Logic. lib. 7, p. 399.
[h] Ariſtot. de Senſ. cap. 4, t. i. p. 669.
* See Chap. XXX.

All the philoſophers, ſaid Euclid, have taught that the world was produced; always to continue, according to ſome; one day to have an end, as others affirm; and, according to a third claſs, to terminate, and be reproduced, at periodical intervals. Ariſtotle maintains that the world always has been, and always will exiſt [i]. Permit me to interrupt you, ſaid Meton. Before Ariſtotle, ſeveral of our Pythagoreans, and among others Ocellus of Lucania, had admitted the eternity of the world [k]. I confeſs it, replied Euclid, but Ariſtotle has ſupported the opinion by new proofs. I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe which he derives from the nature of motion. If motion, ſays he, has had a beginning, it muſt originally have begun in pre-exiſting beings; which beings muſt either have been produced, or have exiſted from all eternity. In the former caſe they could not have been produced but by a motion prior to that which we ſuppoſe to have been the firſt: and, in the latter, we muſt ſay that theſe beings before they were moved were at reſt; but the idea of reſt always contains in it that of a ſuſpenſion of motion, of which it is the privation [l]. Motion therefore is eternal.

Some admit the eternity of matter, and aſcribe an origin to the univerſe. The parts of matter,

[i] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 8, cap. 1, t. i. p. 409. Id. de Cœl. lib. 1, cap. 10, p. 447.

[k] Oceli. Lucan. cap. 2.

[l] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 8, cap. 1, t. i. p. 408.

ſay they, were agitated without order in chaos till the moment in which they united to form bodies. We anſwer, that the motion of theſe particles muſt have been conformable or contrary to the laws of nature[m], ſince it is impoſſible we ſhould conceive any other. If it was conformable to thoſe laws, the world muſt always have exiſted; and if it was contrary to them, it never could have had a being: for, in the former caſe, the particles of matter would of themſelves have aſſumed, from all eternity, that arrangement which they ſtill preſerve; and in the latter they never could have fallen into it, ſince a motion contrary to nature muſt ſeparate and deſtroy, and cannot unite and conſtruct[n]. And how is it poſſible to conceive that irregular motions ſhould have been able to compoſe ſuch ſubſtances as the bones, fleſh, and other parts of the human body[o]?

We perceive, throughout nature, a ſucceſſion of moving forces, which acting one upon the other produce a continuity of cauſes and effects. Thus the ſtone is moved by the ſtaff[p], the ſtaff by the arm, the arm by the will, &c. As the ſeries of theſe forces cannot be continued to infinity[q], it muſt end in ſome moving powers, or rather in one

[m] Ariſtot. de Cœl. lib. 3, cap. 2, t. i. p. 475.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. i. p. 433.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 2, p. 475.
[p] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 8, cap. 5, t. i. p. 415.
[q] Id. ibid. Id. Metaph. lib. 14, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 1003.

ſingle moving power, the exiſtence of which has been from all eternity, and of neceſſity [r]. This power is the firſt and moſt excellent of beings; it is God himſelf, intelligent, immutable, indiviſible, and unextended [s], who reſides beyond the boundaries of the world, and there enjoys ineffable bliſs in the contemplation of himſelf [t].

As his power is ever in action, he communicates, and will uninterruptedly communicate, motion to the primum mobile [u], to the celeſtial ſphere in which are the fixed ſtars. He has communicated it from all eternity; and, in fact, what power could have enchained his arm, or ſhall hereafter be able to confine it? Why ſhould motion have begun at one epocha rather than another, or why ſhould it one day ceaſe [x]?

The motion of the primum mobile communicates itſelf to the inferior ſpheres, and cauſes them to revolve diurnally from eaſt to weſt; but each of them has beſides one or ſeveral motions, directed by eternal and immaterial ſubſtances [y].

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[r] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 882, E; lib. 14, cap. 7, t. ii. p. 1000, D.

[s] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 8, cap. 6 et 7, t. i. p. 418; cap. 15, p. 430. Id. Metaph. lib. 14, cap. 7 et 8, t. ii. p. 1001.

[t] Id. Metaph. lib. 14, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 1004. Id. de Mor. lib. 10, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 139, E. Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2, cap. 15, p. 193.

[u] Id. Metaph. lib. 14, cap. 6, p. 999; cap. 7, t. ii. p. 1001. Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 8, cap. 15, t. i. p. 430.

[x] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 8, cap. 1, p. 409 et 410.

[y] Id. Metaph. lib. 14, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 1002. Bruck. t. i. p. 831.

Theſe ſecondary agents are ſubordinate to the firſt mover [z], nearly in the ſame manner as in an army the officers are to the general [a]. This opinion is not novel. According to ancient traditions the Divinity pervades all nature; and though theſe traditions may have been disfigured by monſtrous fables, they ſtill clearly preſerve the remains of the true doctrine [b].

The primum mobile being put in motion by the immediate action of the firſt mover, an action ever ſimple and ever the ſame, experiences no change, and is incapable of generation or corruption [c]. It is in this conſtant and tranquil uniformity that the attribute of immortality is eſpecially reſplendent.

The ſame is true of the inferior ſpheres; but the diverſity of their motions produces on the earth, and in the ſublunary region, continual changes, ſuch as the diſſolution and reproduction of bodies [d].

Euclid, after having endeavoured to demonſtrate the connection of theſe effects with the cauſes which he had aſſigned to them, continued as follows:

The excellence and beauty of the univerſe conſiſt in the order and regularity by which it is

[z] Ariſtot. de Gener. lib. 2, cap. 10, t. i. p. 525.
[a] Id. Metaph. lib. 14, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 1004.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 8, t. ii. p. 1003, D.
[c] Id. de Gener. lib. 2, cap. 10, t. i. p. 524.
[d] Id. ibid. et lib. 2, cap. 10, p. 525.

perpetuated [e]; a regularity which ſhines more conſpicuouſly in the heavens than on the earth [f], and to which all beings more or leſs directly tend. As, in a well regulated family [g], the free-men, ſlaves, and beaſts of burden, all concur to the maintenance of the little community with more or leſs zeal or ſucceſs according as they are more or leſs removed from the perſon of the maſter; in like manner, in the general ſyſtem of things, all efforts are directed to the preſervation of the whole with more promptitude and concert in the heavens, where the influence of the firſt mover more immediately acts; but with greater negligence and confuſion in the ſublunary regions, becauſe they are more remote from his eye [h].

From this univerſal tendency of all beings to the ſame purpoſe, it reſults that nature, far from giving birth to any thing uſeleſs, ever ſeeks to produce what is the beſt poſſible [i], and propoſes to herſelf an end in all her operations [k].

At theſe words, the two ſtrangers exclaimed, at the ſame time, But why recur to final cauſes? And

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[e] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 14, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 1004.

[f] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. i. p. 970, A.

[g] Id. Metaph. lib. 14, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 1005.

[h] Id. de Gener. lib. 2, cap. 10, t. i. p. 524. Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. i. p. 970.

[i] Id. de Cœl. lib. 2, cap. 5. t. i. p. 458; cap. 11, p. 463. Id. de Gener. ibid. p. 525.

[k] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2, cap. 8, t. i. p. 336. Id. de Anim. Inceſſ. cap. 2, p. 734.

who has told you that nature has choſen that which is beſt adapted to each ſpecies of beings? It rains on our fields; but is it to fertilize them? Certainly not. It is only becauſe the vapours, attracted by the ſun, and condenſed by the cold, acquire by their union a heavineſs which compels them to deſcend upon the earth. They are accidentally the cauſe of the growth of our corn, and rot it when heaped up in the barn. It is by accident that we have ſome teeth convenient for the ſeparating, and others proper for the maſtication, of our food [l]. In the origin of things, added Meton, when chance produced the firſt rude ſketches of animals, it formed heads which were not affixed to necks [m]. Soon after men appeared with the heads of bulls, and bulls with human faces [n]. Theſe facts are confirmed by tradition, which, immediately after the diſentanglement of chaos, places the birth of giants, bodies provided with a great number of arms, and men who had but one eye [o]. Theſe races periſhed from ſome defect in their conformation, while others have remained. Inſtead of ſaying, as ſhould have been ſaid, that the latter were better organiſed, it has been imagined

[l] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2, cap. 8, t. i. p. 336.

[m] Emped. ap. Ariſtot. de Anim. lib. 3, cap. 7, t. i. p. 654. Id. de Cœl. lib. 3, cap. 2, t. i. p. 476.

[n] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2, cap. 8, t. i. p. 336. Plut. adv. Colot. t. ii. p. 1123. Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 16, cap. 29.

[o] Hom. Heſiod. Æſchyl. ap. Strab. lib. 1, p. 43; lib. 7, p. 299.

that there is a proper adaptation of their organs to their pretended end.

Scarcely any one of the philoſophers, replied Euclid, has admitted what is called chance or fortune as a principle[p]. Theſe vague words have only been employed to explain effects which have not been foreſeen, or thoſe which proceed from remote, or hitherto unknown cauſes[q]. Properly ſpeaking, fortune and chance produce nothing of themſelves; and if, in conformity to cuſtomary language, we admit them as accidental cauſes, we do not the leſs conſider intelligence and nature as the primary cauſes[r].

You are not ignorant, ſaid Anaxarchus, that the word nature has ſeveral acceptations: in what ſenſe do you now employ it? I underſtand by this word, replied Euclid, the principle of motion which is ſelf-exiſtent in the elements of fire, air, earth, and water[s]. Its action is ever uniform in the heavens, but frequently reſiſted by obſtacles in the ſublunary region. For example, the natural property of fire is to aſcend, yet a foreign force frequently obliges it to take an oppoſite direction[t]. Thus, with reſpect to this lower region, nature is

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[p] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2, cap. 4, t. i. p. 332.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 5, p. 333.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 6, p. 335.
[s] Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 1, p. 327; lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 339.
[t] Id. de Gener. lib. 2, cap. 6, t. i. p. 521.

not only the principle of motion, but alſo accidentally of reſt and change [w].

Nature preſents us with regular and conſtant revolutions, and effects that are invariable, or almoſt always the ſame. Suffer me to call your attention only to the latter, and aſk you whether it is poſſible you ſhould conſider them as fortuitous [x]. Without enlarging on the admirable order which is conſpicuous in the ſuperior ſpheres, I will content myſelf with aſking you whether it is by chance that rain is conſtantly more frequent in winter than in ſummer, and the heat more powerful in ſummer than in winter [y]. Caſt your eyes on plants, and principally on animals, in which nature diſplays herſelf in characters moſt diſtinct. Though the latter act without enquiry and deliberation, their actions nevertheleſs are ſo adapted to the purpoſe intended, that it has been doubted whether ſpiders and ants are not endowed with underſtanding. But if the ſwallow has a deſign in building her neſt, and the ſpider in weaving her web; if plants are covered with leaves to defend their fruits; and if their roots, inſtead of riſing into the air, make their way downwards into the earth, to imbibe its nouriſhing juices; ſhall we not be compelled to acknowledge that the final cauſe is clearly

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[w] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2, cap. 1, t. i. p. 327.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 5, p. 333.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 8, p. 336 et 337.

demonſtrated in theſe effects, conſtantly repeated in the ſame manner [z]?

Art ſometimes fails to attain its end, even when it employs reflection, and ſometimes attains it without; but it is not the leſs true that it always has an end in view. The ſame may be ſaid of nature. On the one hand obſtacles impede her operations, and monſters are her failures [a]. On the other, by compelling creatures incapable of reflection to produce other creatures like themſelves, ſhe conducts them to the end ſhe has propoſed in her works. And what is this end? The perpetuating of the ſpecies. What is the greateſt good of theſe ſpecies? Their exiſtence and preſervation [b].

While Euclid thus explained the ideas of Ariſtotle, Anaxarchus and Meton forced him to make confeſſions which they ſoon after employed againſt him.

You acknowledge, ſaid they, a God, a firſt mover, whoſe immediate action eternally maintains order in the heavens; but you do not inform us how far his influence extends on earth. When preſſed by our objections, you have at firſt affirmed that heaven and nature are dependant on him [c]. You have afterwards ſaid, with reſtriction, that all

[z] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2, cap. 8, p. 336 et 337.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 337.
[b] Id. de Gener. lib. 2, cap. 10, p. 525, B.
[c] Id. Metaph. lib. 14, cap. 7, t. ii. p. 1000, E.

motion is *in ſome manner* ſubordinate to him [d]; that *he appears* to be the cauſe and principle of all things [e]; that *he appears* to extend his care to human affairs [f]. You have afterwards added, that in the univerſe he can only behold himſelf, for that the ſight of guilt and diſorder would be a pollution to his eyes [g]; that he can neither be the author of the proſperity of the wicked, nor of the misfortunes of the good [h]. Why all theſe doubts and reſtrictions? Explain yourſelf openly. Does the Divine Being extend his providence to mankind?

In the ſame manner, replied Euclid, that the maſter of a family extends his care to the loweſt of his ſlaves [i]. The regulations he has eſtabliſhed for the general benefit of his houſe, and not their particular advantage, ſubſiſt the ſame, though they frequently offend againſt them. He diſregards their diſſenſions, and the vices inſeparable from their nature. If their number is reduced by ſickneſs, or if they deſtroy each other, they are ſoon replaced. Thus, in the little corner of the univerſe in which men reſide, order is maintained by the general impulſe of the will of the Supreme

[d] Ariſtot. de Gener. lib. 2, cap. 10, t. i. p. 525, E.
[e] Id. Metaph. lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 841, D.
[f] Id. de Mor. lib. 10, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 140, E.
[g] Id. Metaph. lib. 14, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 1004. Du Val. Synopſ. Analyt. ibid. p. 122.
[h] Ariſtot. Magn. Mor. lib. 2, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 185, A.
[i] Id. Metaph. lib. 14, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 1004.

Being. The revolutions which this globe experiences, and the evils which afflict human nature, obſtruct not the progreſs of the univerſe; the earth ſtill endures; generations ſucceed generations; and the great object of the firſt mover is fulfilled [k].

You muſt excuſe me, ſaid Euclid, if I do not enter more circumſtantially into the queſtion. Ariſtotle has not yet explained this ſubject, and perhaps he will entirely omit it; for he is more attentive to the principles of phyſics than to thoſe of theology [l]. I am not even certain that I have properly underſtood his ideas; and the explanation of an opinion with which we are only acquainted by ſhort converſations, without ſucceſſion or connection, too often reſembles thoſe works which are disfigured by the inattention or ignorance of the copyiſts.

Euclid was now ſilent, and Meton ſpoke as follows: Empedocles rendered his country illuſtrious by his laws [m], and extended and embelliſhed philoſophy by his writings. His poem on Nature [n], and all his works in verſe, abound in beauties which Homer himſelf might have owned [o]. I grant, nevertheleſs, that his metaphors, however happy they may be, are injurious to the preciſion

[k] Ariſtot. de Gener. lib. 2, cap. 10, t. i. p. 525.
[l] Procl. in Tim. p. 90.
[m] Diog. Laert. lib. 8, § 66.
[n] Id. ibid. § 77.
[o] Id. ibid. § 57.

of

of his ideas, and ſometimes only ſerve to caſt a ſplendid veil over the operations of nature [p]. As to his opinions, he followed Pythagoras, not with the blind deference of a common ſoldier, but with the noble audacity of the leader of a party, and with the independence of a man who would rather have choſen to be a private individual in a free city than to rule over ſlaves [q]. Though he principally directed his attention to the phænomena of nature, he has nevertheleſs explained his opinion on firſt cauſes.

In this world, which is only a ſmall portion of the whole, and beyond which there is neither motion nor life [r], we diſtinguiſh two principles; the one active, which is God, and the other paſſive, which is matter [s].

God, who is the ſupreme intelligence and the ſource of truth, can only be conceived by the mind [t]. Matter was only an aſſemblage of ſubtle, ſimilar, round, and immoveable parts [u], poſſeſſing eſſentially two properties, which we ſhall deſign by the names of love and hatred, deſtined the one to

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[p] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 2, cap. 3, t. i. p. 555.
[q] Xanth. et Ariſtot. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8, § 63.
[r] Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 879. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1, p. 52.
[s] Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 1112.
[t] Orat. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. p. 1 et 4.
[u] Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1, cap. 13 et 17, p. 883. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1, p. 33.

unite and the other to ſeparate theſe parts [x]. To form the world God only beſtowed activity on theſe two moving forces, till then enchained. Immediately they exerted their powers, and the chaos was violently agitated by all the fury of hatred and love. In its boſom, upturned from its immenſe abyſſes, torrents of matter impetuouſly rolled, and daſhed againſt each other. The ſimilar parts, by turns attracted and repulſed, at length united and formed the four elements [y], which, after new conflicts, produced deformed natures and monſtrous beings [z], that were afterwards ſucceeded by bodies of more perfect organization.

Thus the world aroſe out of chaos, and thus ſhall it again return into it; for whatever is compoſed has a beginning, a middle, and an end. Every part is in motion and exiſts, while love makes one ſingle thing of many, and hatred many things from one [a]: but the whole is ſtopped and diſſolved when theſe two contrary principles are no longer in equilibrium. Theſe reciprocal tranſitions from motion to reſt, from the exiſtence of bodies to their diſſolution, return at periodical intervals [b].

[x] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 1, cap. 6, t. i. p. 322. Id. Metaph. lib. 1, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 844.

[y] Bruck. t. i. p. 1115. Moſhem. in Cudw. cap. 1, § 13, t. i. p. 24 et 210.

[z] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2, cap. 8, t. i. p. 336.

[a] Id. ibid. lib. 8, cap. 1, t. i. p. 408.

[b] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 5, t. i. p. 319; lib. 8, cap. 1, p. 409, Id. de Cœl. lib. 1, cap. 10, t. i. p. 447.

Gods and genii in the heavens[c], particular ſouls in animals and plants, and a univerſal ſoul which pervades the world[d], maintain in all things motion and life. Theſe intelligences, the eſſence of which is a moſt pure and ſubtle fire, are ſubordinate to the Supreme Being, as a chorus of muſicians is to its coryphæus, or an army to its general[e]; but, as they emanate from that being, the ſchool of Pythagoras gives to them the name of divine ſubſtances[f]; and hence the expreſſions common with thoſe philoſophers: That the ſage is a god[g]; that the Divine Being is the ſpirit and ſoul of the world[h]; that he penetrates, incorporates with, and vivifies matter[i]. We muſt beware, however, that we do not hence conclude that the Divine Nature is ſeparated into an infinity of parts. God is perfect unity[k]: he communicates himſelf, but he is not divided.

He reſides in the moſt exalted region of the heavens. The inferior gods, the miniſters of his

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[c] Diog. Laert. lib. 8, § 32. Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. 3. Hierocl. ibid. p. 16. Plut. de Placit. Philoſoph. lib. 1, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 882.

[d] Bruck. t. i. p. 1113.

[e] Onat. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. p. 4. Plut. ibid. p. 1.

[f] Onat. ibid. p. 5.

[g] Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. ultim. Diog. Laert. lib. 8, § 62. Bruck. p. 1107.

[h] Onat. ibid. p. 4.

[i] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 405. Id. de Senect. cap. 21, t. iii. p. 319.

[k] Beauſobr. Hiſt. du Manich. liv. 5, t. ii. p. 170.

will, preſide in the ſtars; the genii on the earth, and in the ſpace by which it is immediately ſurrounded. In the ſpheres neareſt to his abode, all is good and all is order, becauſe the moſt perfect beings have been placed near his throne, and are implicitly obedient to the deſtiny, I mean the laws, which he has himſelf eſtabliſhed [l]. Diſorder begins to be perceived in the intermediary ſpaces; and evil gains an entire aſcendancy over good [m] in the ſublunary region, becauſe there are depoſited the ſediment and dregs of all thoſe ſubſtances which the multiplied ſtruggles of hatred and love have been unable to bring to their perfection [n]. Here four principal cauſes influence our actions; God, our will, deſtiny, and fortune [o]. God, becauſe he extends his care to us [p]; our will, becauſe we deliberate before we act; and deſtiny and fortune [q], becauſe our projects are frequently overthrown by events conformable, or apparently contrary, to eſtabliſhed laws.

We have two ſouls, the one ſenſitive, groſs, corruptible and periſhable, which is compoſed of the four elements; and the other intelligent, indiſſoluble, and which is an emanation from the Deity

[l] Bruck. Hiſt. Phil. t. i. p. 1084.
[m] Ocell. Lucan. cap. 2.
[n] Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316.
[o] Id. ibid. Bruck. ibid.
[p] Diog. Laert. lib. 8, § 27. Ammon. ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 1115.
[q] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2, cap. 4, t. i. p. 332, &c. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1317.

himſelf[r]. I ſhall only ſpeak of the latter, which eſtabliſhes the moſt intimate relation between us and the gods, the genii, animals, plants, and all beings the ſouls of which have a common origin with ours[s]. Thus all animated nature is only one ſingle family, of which God is the head.

On this affinity is founded the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, a doctrine which we have borrowed from the Egyptians[t], which ſome admit with different modifications, and with which Empedocles has believed he might be permitted to intermingle the fictions that adorn poetry.

This opinion ſuppoſes the fall, puniſhment, and reſtoration of ſouls[u]. Their number is limited[x]; their deſtiny to live happy in ſome one of the planets. If they become polluted with guilt, they are exiled to the earth. Then, condemned to be enveloped with groſs matter, they paſs continually from one body to another, ſuffering the calamities annexed to all the conditions of life, unable to endure their new ſtate, and ſo miſerable as to have forgotten their primitive dignity[y]. When death has broken the bonds by which they were en-

[r] Bruck. t. i. p. 1117.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 1118.
[t] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 123.
[u] Bruck. t. i. p. 1091. Moſhem. in Cudw. cap. 1, § 31, p. 64.
[x] Bruck. ibid. p. 1092.
[y] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 607. Id. de Eſu. Carn. p. 996. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. p. 112. Bruck. t. i. p. 1118.

chained to matter, one of the celeſtial genii takes charge of them, and conducts to the infernal ſhades, and delivers over for a time to the furies, thoſe who have been defiled with atrocious crimes[z]; but tranſports to the ſtars thoſe who have walked in the way of juſtice. But often the immutable decrees of the gods ſubject both to the moſt rigorous trials. Their exile and their peregrinations endure for thouſands of years[a], and only end when, by a more regular conduct, they have merited to rejoin their author, and to partake, in ſome meaſure, with him of the honours of divinity[b].

Empedocles thus deſcribes the torments which he himſelf pretended to have ſuffered. "I have appeared ſucceſſively under the form of a young man, a maiden, a plant, a bird, and a fiſh[c]. In one of theſe tranſmigrations, I for ſome time wandered like an airy phantom in the expanſe of the heavens. But ſuddenly I was ſeveral times precipitated into the ſea, thrown again upon the land, hurled into the ſun, and again repelled into vortices of air[d]. An object of abhorrence to myſelf and other beings, all the elements rejected me as

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[z] Diog. Laert. lib. 8, § 31. Bruck. t. i. p. 1092.
[a] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 123. Emped. ap. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 607.
[b] Hierocl. Aur. Carm. v. ult. Bruck. t. i. p. 1094.
[c] Diog. Laert. lib. 8, § 77. Anthol. lib. 1, p. 127. Ælian. de Animal. lib. 12, cap. 7.
[d] Emped. ap. Plut. de vit. Ære alien. t. ii. p. 830.

a ſlave who had abſconded from the eye of his maſter [e].

Meton, as he concluded, obſerved that the greater part of theſe ideas were common to the diſciples of Pythagoras, but that Empedocles was the firſt who had imagined the alternate deſtruction and reproduction of the world, taught that the four elements were the principles of things [f], and put theſe elements in action by the aſſiſtance of love and hatred.

You will now admit, ſaid Anaxarchus to me, with a ſmile, that Democritus had reaſon to ſay that truth is concealed in a pit of immenſe depth [g]. And you will alſo admit, anſwered I, that ſhe would be much aſtoniſhed were ſhe to come again upon the earth, eſpecially in Greece. She would ſoon leave us once more, replied Euclid; we ſhould miſtake her for error.

The preceding ſyſtems relate to the origin of the world. Philoſophers are not leſs divided concerning the ſtate of our globe after its formation, and the revolutions which it has undergone to the preſent time. It was long ſubmerged, ſaid Anaxarchus, beneath the waters of the ocean; the heat of the ſun cauſed a part of them to evaporate, and

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[e] Emped. ap. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 607.
[f] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 1, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 845.
[g] Cicer. Quæſt. Acad. lib. 1, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 75.

the earth appeared [h]. From the mud which remained on its ſurface, and in which the ſame heat excited a fermentation, the different ſpecies of plants and animals derived their origin. We ſtill ſee a remarkable example of this in Egypt, where, after the inundation of the Nile, the mud and ſlime depoſited on the fields produce an infinite number of ſmall animals [i]. I doubt the fact, ſaid I. I have been told the ſame ſtory in the Thebais; but I was never able to ſatisfy myſelf of its truth by my own obſervation. We ſhould make no difficulty to admit it, anſwered Euclid, ſince we attribute no other origin to certain ſpecies of fiſh than the mud and ſand of the ſea [k].

Anaxarchus continued: I have ſaid that, in a ſeries of ages, the quantity of the waters which covered the earth was diminiſhed by the action of the ſun. The ſame cauſe continually ſubſiſting, a time muſt arrive when the ſea ſhall be totally exhauſted [l]. I ſeem, in fact, replied Euclid, to hear Æſop relating to his pilot the following fable: Charybdis has twice opened his enormous mouth, and twice the waters which covered the earth have ruſhed into his bowels; the firſt time the mountains appeared, the ſecond the iſlands, and at the

[h] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 2, cap. 1, t. i. p. 549. Anaxim. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 896.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 7 et 8.
[k] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 6, cap. 15, t. i. p. 871.
[l] Democr. ap. Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 2, cap. 3, t. i. p. 554.

third the ocean ſhall diſappear [m]. Is it poſſible that Democritus ſhould have been ignorant that, though an immenſe quantity of vapours are raiſed by the heat of the ſun, they are ſoon converted into rain, fall again upon the earth, and rapidly haſten to reſtore to the ſea the water it had loſt [n]? Can you deny, ſaid Anaxarchus, that fields now laden with harveſts were formerly hidden beneath the waters? But ſince the ſea has been forced to abandon them, it muſt be diminiſhed in quantity. If in certain places, anſwered Euclid, the land has gained on the ſea, in others the ſea has gained on the land [o].

Anaxarchus was preparing to reply, but I interrupted him. I now, ſaid I to Euclid, underſtand why ſhells are found in mountains and in the bowels of the earth, and why we find petrified fiſh in the quarries of Syracuſe [p]. The ſea has a ſlow and regular progreſs, by which it proceeds over all the regions of our globe: it will one day, no doubt, overwhelm Athens, Lacedæmon, and the greateſt cities of Greece. If this idea is not very flattering to the nations which aſpire to eternal celebrity, it at leaſt reminds us of thoſe aſtoniſhing revolutions of the heavenly bodies concerning which I have heard the Egyptian prieſts

[m] Democr. ap. Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 2, cap. 3, t. i. p. 554.
[n] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 2, p. 552.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 14, p. 546 et 548.
[p] Xenophan. ap. Origen. Philoſoph. cap. 14, t. i. p. 893.

diſcourſe. Has it been poſſible to fix the period of thoſe of the ſea?

Your imagination grows heated, replied Euclid; be more calm. The ſea and continent, according to us, are like two great empires, which never change their place, though they frequently diſpute the poſſeſſion of ſome ſmall frontier countries. Sometimes the ſea is forced to retire by the mud and ſand which the rivers bring down into it, and ſometimes it drives them back by the action of its waves and other cauſes. In Acarnania, in the plain of Ilion, near Epheſus and the Meander, the accumulations of earth at the mouths of rivers have added greatly to the land [q].

When I croſſed the Palus Mæotis, anſwered I, I was informed that the mud and ſlime depoſited continually by the Tanais had ſo raiſed the bottom of the lake, that, for ſome years paſt, the veſſels intended for the trade of that ſea were built ſmaller than they formerly were [r]. I can adduce a ſtill more remarkable example, replied Euclid: all that part of Egypt which extends, from north to ſouth, from the ſea to the Thebais, is the work and a gift of the Nile. This whole country in ancient times was a gulf which extended in a di-

[q] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 10. Strab. lib. 1, p. 58; lib. 13, p. 595 et 598. Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 37.

[r] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1, cap. 14, t. 1. p. 549. Polyb. lib. 4, p. 308.

rection almoſt parallel to that of the Red Sea [s]; but the Nile has filled it up with the beds of ſlime which it annually depoſits. The fact is proved, not only by the traditions of the Egyptians, the nature of the ſoil, the ſhells found in the mountains ſituated above Memphis [t]*; but alſo by an obſervation which ſhews that, notwithſtanding its actual riſe, the ſoil of Egypt has not yet attained to the level of the neighbouring countries. Seſoſtris, Necos, Darius, and other princes, having endeavoured to cut canals of communication between the Red Sea and the Nile, perceived that the ſurface of that ſea was higher than the land of Egypt [u].

While the ſea ſuffers ſome part of its dominions to be wreſted from it, on its frontiers, it indemnifies itſelf for the loſs by encroachments on the land in other places. Its continual efforts open to it a paſſage through parts of the land which it ſilently but inceſſantly corrodes. The ſea, according to

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[s] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 11. Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1, p. 548. Strab. lib. 1, p. 50; lib. 12, p. 536. Ephor. ap. Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 37. Diod. lib. 3, p. 144.

[t] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 12.

* The ancients believed that a great part of Egypt was the work of the Nile: the moderns are divided on this queſtion. (See Bochard Geogr. Sacr. lib. 4, cap. 24, col. 261. Frer. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xvi. p. 333. Wood's Eſſay on the original Genius of Homer. p. 103, &c. &c.)

[u] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 158. Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1, cap. 14, t. i. p. 548. Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 29.

every appearance, has ſeparated Sicily from Italy[x], Eubœa from Bœotia[y], and a number of other iſlands from the neighbouring continent. Extenſive countries have been ſwallowed up by a ſudden irruption of its waves. Theſe terrifying revolutions have not been deſcribed by our hiſtorians, becauſe hiſtory only extends to a few moments of the life of nations; but they have ſometimes left indelible traces in the memory of a people.

If we journey into Samothrace, we ſhall be informed that the waters of the Pontus Euxinus, long incloſed in a baſon ſhut in on all ſides, and inceſſantly increaſed by the rivers of Europe and Aſia, forced open the paſſages of the Boſphorus and the Helleſpont, and, impetuouſly ruſhing into the Ægean ſea, extended its limits at the expence of the ſurrounding ſhores. Feſtivals inſtituted in the iſland ſtill preſerve the memory of the calamity with which the inhabitants were threatened, and from which they were preſerved by the providence of the gods[z]. If we conſult mythology, we ſhall be told that Hercules, whoſe labours have been confounded with thoſe of Nature, ſeparated Europe from Africa. Is it not meant, by this fable, that the Atlantic ocean deſtroyed the iſthmus which united theſe two parts of the earth, and

[x] Æſchyl. ap. Strab. lib. 6, p. 258. Mem de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxvii. p. 66.
[y] Strab. lib. 1, p. 60.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. 5, p. 322.

opened to itſelf a communication with the Mediterranean ſea [a]?

Other cauſes have multiplied theſe calamitous and wonderful effects. Beyond the ſtrait of which I have juſt ſpoken, there exiſted, according to ancient traditions, an iſland as large as Aſia and Africa, which with all its wretched inhabitants was ſwallowed up by an earthquake in the unfathomable gulfs of the Atlantic ocean [b]. How many countries have been deluged by the waters of heaven! How often have impetuous winds covered fertile plains with mountains of ſand! The air, water, and fire ſeem to have conſpired againſt the earth. Yet theſe terrible cataſtrophes, which menace the whole world with impending ruin, affect only ſome points of the ſurface of a globe which is itſelf but as a point in the univerſe [c].

We have ſeen above that the ſea and land ſeize, by right of conqueſt, on the domains of each other, and by conſequence at the expence of unhappy mortals. The waters which flow over, or remain ſtagnant on, the earth, do not produce leſs alterations on its ſurface. Not to mention the rivers which by turns carry plenty or deſolation through a country, we muſt obſerve that, at different periods, the ſame land is ſurcharged, ſufficiently

[a] Strat. ap. Strab. lib. 1, p. 49. Plin. lib. 3, cap. 1, t. i. p. 135.
[b] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 25; in Crit. p. 112, &c.
[c] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1, cap. 14, t. i. p. 548.

ſupplied with, or abſolutely deprived of the water neceſſary to fertiliſe it. At the time of the Trojan war the environs of Argos were a marſhy ground, with but few inhabitants to cultivate it; while the territory of Mycenæ, abounding in all the principles of vegetation, produced luxuriant harveſts and was extremely populous. But the heat of the ſun having, during eight centuries, abſorbed the ſuperfluous humidity of the former of theſe diſtricts, and the moiſture neceſſary to the fecundity of the latter, has rendered ſterile the fields of Mycenæ, and beſtowed fertility on thoſe of Argos [d].

What nature has here effected on a ſmall ſcale, ſhe has operated on a larger over the whole earth, which ſhe has inceſſantly deprived, by the action of the ſun, of the juices that fertiliſe it. But as they muſt thus at length be totally exhauſted, ſhe cauſes, from time to time, deluges which, like ſevere winters, quickly repair the loſſes that certain regions have ſuffered during a long ſucceſſion of ages [e].

This hypotheſis is confirmed by the annals of our hiſtory, in which we find men, who had no doubt eſcaped from the wreck of their nation, erect their dwellings on eminences [f], conſtruct mounds, and give a courſe to the waters which

[d] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1, cap. 14, t. i. p. 547.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 548.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 547. Plat. ap. Strab. lib. 13, p. 592.

had remained ſtagnant on the plains. Thus, in the moſt ancient times, a king of Lacedæmon collected into one channel the waters with which Laconia was covered, and formed the river Eurotas [g].

From theſe remarks we may preſume that the Nile, the Tanais, and all rivers, though they have been called eternal, were at firſt only lakes, formed in ſterile plains by ſudden inundations, and afterwards compelled, by the induſtry of men or ſome other cauſe, to make themſelves a way over the lands [h]. We may alſo preſume that they abandoned their channel, when new revolutions forced them to ſpread themſelves over places which are now dry and deſert. Such is, according to Ariſtotle, the diſtribution of the waters which Nature has beſtowed on the different regions of the earth.

But where does ſhe reſerve them before ſhe manifeſts them to our eyes, and where has ſhe placed the origin of fountains and rivers? She has dug, ſay ſome, immenſe reſervoirs in the entrails of the earth, into which, in a great meaſure, the waters of heaven penetrate, and from whence they flow in greater or leſs abundance and continuity, according to the capacity of the receptacle in which they are contained [i]. But, reply their opponents, what

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[g] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 204.
[h] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1, cap. 14, t. i. p. 549.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 13, t. i. p. 544.

receptacle could ever be ſufficiently ſpacious to contain that prodigious quantity of water which the great rivers pour forth during a whole year? Though we ſhould admit ſubterranean cavities for the ſurplus of the rains; yet, as theſe cannot ſuffice for the daily expence of the rivers and fountains, we muſt acknowledge that, at all times, and in every place, the air, or rather the vapour with which it is loaded, condenſed by cold, is converted into water in the boſom of the earth, and on its ſurface, as it is changed into rain in the atmoſphere. This operation is ſtill more eaſily performed on the mountains, becauſe their ſuperficies arreſts a prodigious quantity of vapours in their paſſage; and it is therefore remarked that the greateſt mountains give birth to the greateſt rivers [k].

Anaxarchus and Meton having taken leave of Euclid, I remained, and requeſted him to communicate to me ſome of his ideas on that part of phyſics which particularly conſiders the eſſence, properties, and reciprocal action of bodies. This ſcience, replied Euclid, has ſome relation to that of divination. The object of the one is to explain the intention of Nature in ordinary caſes; and that of the other, to interpret the will of the gods by extraordinary events: but the diſcoveries of the former muſt ſooner or later detect the impoſture

[k] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1, cap. 13, t. i. p. 545.

of

of its rival. A time ſhall come when thoſe prodigies which alarm the vulgar ſhall be claſſed among the ordinary productions of nature, or when the preſent blindneſs of the multitude ſhall alone be conſidered as a kind of prodigy.

The effects of nature being infinitely varied, and their cauſes infinitely obſcure, natural philoſophy has hitherto only been able to hazard conjectures. There is perhaps no truth of which it has not had a glimpſe, nor any abſurdity which it has not advanced. It ought therefore at preſent to confine itſelf to obſervations, and refer the concluſions from them to future ages. Yet, though ſcarcely out of its infancy, it has already manifeſted the indiſcretion and preſumption of a more advanced age; it runs where it ought only to creep; and notwithſtanding the rigid rules which it has preſcribed to itſelf, we every day ſee it erect ſyſtems on mere probabilities, or on frivolous appearances.

I ſhall not here repeat what the different ſchools have ſaid on each of the phænomena which are the objects of our ſenſes. If I ſtop to explain the theory of the elements, and the application that has been made of that theory, it is becauſe nothing appears to me to give a more juſt idea of the ſagacity of the Greek philoſophers. It is of little importance whether their principles were well or ill founded; they may perhaps one day be cenſured

for the inaccuracy of their notions on natural philoſophy, but it will at leaſt be acknowledged that they erred like men of genius.

How was it poſſible that the firſt philoſophers, who wiſhed to gain a knowledge of the conſtituent principles of ſenſible beings, ſhould flatter themſelves that they ſhould be ſucceſsful in their enquiries? Art furniſhes no means to analyſe theſe beings. Diviſion, how long ſoever it may be continued, preſents to the eye or imagination of the obſerver only ſurfaces more or leſs extended: yet it ſeemed apparent, after repeated trials, that there were in nature two ſpecies of bodies, ſimple and compound; that the latter were only the reſult of the combination of the former; and, in a word, that the ſimple bodies preſerved in the compound the ſame affections and the ſame properties which they before poſſeſſed. The path was then opened, and it appeared eſſential firſt to ſtudy the nature of ſimple bodies. The following are ſome obſervations that have been made on this ſubject. I received them from Ariſtotle.

The earth, water, air, and fire are the elements of all bodies; thus every body may be reſolved into ſome of theſe elements [1].

The elements, being ſimple bodies, cannot be divided into bodies of another nature; but they

[1] Ariſtot. de Cœl. lib. 3, cap. 3, t. i. p. 477.

mutually generate each other, and are inceſſantly changed one into the other [m].

It is impoſſible preciſely to aſcertain in what proportion theſe conſtituent principles are combined in each body; it is therefore only by conjecture that Empedocles has ſaid that a bone is compoſed of two parts of water, two of earth, and four of fire [n].

We are not better acquainted with the form of the integral parts of the elements; thoſe who have endeavoured to determine this queſtion have laboured without ſucceſs. To explain the properties of fire, ſome have ſaid that its particles muſt be of a pyramidal figure, and others that they muſt be ſpherical. The ſolidity of the globe which we inhabit has cauſed the cubical form to be aſſigned to the terreſtrial element [o].

The elements poſſeſs in themſelves a principle of motion and reſt which is inherent in them [p]. This principle compels the element of earth to tend towards the centre of the univerſe, the water to raiſe itſelf above the earth, the air to aſcend above the water, and the fire to mount above the air [q]. Thus poſitive gravity, without any mixture

[m] Ariſtot. de Cœl. lib. 3, cap. 4, p. 479. Id. de Gener. lib. 2, cap. 10, t. i. p. 525. Moſhem. in Cudw. t. i. p. 24.

[n] Ariſtot. de Anim. lib. 1, cap. 7, t. i. p. 627.

[o] Id. de Cœl. lib. 3, cap. 8, p. 483.

[p] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2, cap. 1, t. i. p. 327. Id. de Cœl. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. i. p. 432.

[q] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 489.

of levity, appertains only to the earth; and positive levity, without any mixture of gravity, only to fire; the two intermediary elements, air and water, have with relation to the two extremes only a relative gravity and levity, since they are lighter than earth and heavier than fire. The relative gravity is no longer perceived when the body which possesses it descends into a region inferior to its own; thus the air loses its gravity in the water, and the water in the earth [r].

You are of opinion, then, said I to Euclid, that the air is heavy? It cannot be doubted, answered he; a bladder, when inflated, weighs more than when it contains no air [s].

To the four elements are annexed four essential properties, cold, heat, dryness, and humidity. The two former are active, the two latter passive [t]. Of these each element possesses two: earth is cold and dry, water cold and moist, air hot and moist, and fire dry and hot [u]. The opposition of these qualities promotes the designs of Nature, who always works by contraries, and therefore are they the only agents which she employs to produce all her effects [x].

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[r] Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 490.
[s] Id. ibid.
[t] Id. Meteor. lib. 4, cap. 1, t. i. p. 583.
[u] Id. de Gener. lib. 2, cap. 3, p. 516.
[x] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1, cap. 6, t. i. p. 321. Plut. adv. Col. t. ii. p. 1111.

The elements which have a common property are eaſily changed one into another; it ſuffices for this to deſtroy in either the property by which they differ [y]. Should any external cauſe deprive water of its coldneſs, and communicate warmth to it, it will be warm and moiſt, and will then poſſeſs the two characteriſtic properties of air, and will no longer be diſtinguiſhable from that element; this is effected by ebullition, which cauſes the water to evaporate and aſcend into the region of the air. If another cauſe ſhould there deprive it of its heat, and reſtore to it its natural coldneſs, it will re-aſſume its original form, and fall again to the earth; which is the caſe when it rains. In like manner, if earth loſes its frigidity, it will be changed into fire; and, if it be deprived of its dryneſs, tranſmuted into water [z].

The elements which have no common quality are alſo reciprocally changed into each other, but theſe permutations are more rare and ſlow [a].

From theſe obſervations, ſupported by facts and inductions [b], it will be eaſily conceived that compound bodies muſt be more or leſs heavy according as they contain a greater or leſs number of particles of the elements which have poſitive or

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[y] Ariſtot. de Gener. lib. 2, cap. 4, p. 517.
[z] Id. Meteor. lib. 2, cap. 4, t. i. p. 558.
[a] Id. de Generat. lib. 2, cap. 4, t. i. p. 517.
[b] Id. Meteor. lib. 4, cap. 1, t. i. p. 583.

relative gravity [c]. If, of two bodies of an equal ſize, we find that one is heavier than the other, we ſhall conclude that the terreſtrial element predominates in the former, and water or air in the latter.

Water is evaporated by heat, and frozen by cold; hence the liquids ſubject to the ſame viciſſitudes will be, in a great meaſure, compoſed of that element [d]. Heat dries and hardens the earth, and thus all bodies on which it acts in the ſame manner will be principally compoſed of the terreſtrial element.

From the nature of the four elements, and their eſſential properties, which are heat, cold, dryneſs, and humidity, are derived, not only the gravity and levity, but alſo the denſity and rarity, ſoftneſs and hardneſs, fragility, flexibility, and all the other qualities of compound bodies [e]. Hence we are able to account for their continual changes, and to explain the phænomena of heaven, and the productions of the earth. In the heavens the meteors [f], and in the boſom of our globe the foſſils, metals, &c. are only the productions of dry exhalations or humid vapours [g].

The following example will ſhow, in the cleareſt

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[c] Ariſtot. de Cœl. lib. 4, cap. 4, t. i. p. 490.
[d] Id. Meteor. lib. 4, cap. 10, t. i. p. 597.
[e] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 2, cap. 1, t. i. p. 976. Id. Meteor. lib. 4, cap. 2, 3, &c. t. i. p. 585.
[f] Id. Meteor. lib. 2, cap. 4, p. 558.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 6, p. 583.

manner, the uſe which is made of the preceding notions. Natural philoſophers were divided concerning the cauſe of earthquakes: Democritus, among others, attributed them to abundant rains, which penetrated the earth, and which on certain occaſions (the vaſt reſervoirs of water that have been imagined in the bowels of the globe not being able to contain them) made violent efforts to eſcape [h]. Ariſtotle, conformably to the principles above inculcated, aſſerts, on the contrary, that the rain-water, rarefied by the internal heat of the earth, or by that of the ſun, is converted into a quantity of air, which, finding no iſſue, ſhakes and raiſes the ſuper-incumbent ſtrata of the globe [i].

The ancient philoſophers wiſhed to know how things had been made, before they endeavoured to diſcover what their actual properties are [k]. The book of nature was open before their eyes; but inſtead of reading it, they undertook to comment on it. After long and uſeleſs labours, it was at length perceived that to be acquainted with animals, plants, and the various productions of nature, it was neceſſary to ſtudy them with unwearied aſſiduity. The reſult has been a body of obſervations, and a new ſcience more curious, fruitful, and intereſting than ancient phyſics. If

[h] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 2, cap. 7, t. i. p. 566.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 8.
[k] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. i. p. 967 et 968.

a philoſopher, after having long ſtudied the nature of animals, ſhould wiſh to communicate to others the fruits of his reſearches, he ought to be able perfectly to diſcharge two eſſential duties; firſt, that of the hiſtorian, and afterwards that of the commentator.

As an hiſtorian, he ſhould treat of their ſize, ſhape, colour, nutriment, diſpoſition and manners; he ſhould be able to explain anatomically the ſtructure of their bodies, which ſhould be known to him by means of diſſection[l].

As a commentator, he ſhould excite our admiration by explaining the wiſdom of Nature[m] in the adaptation of their organs to the uſes for which they were intended, to the element in which each creature is to live, and to the principle of life by which it is animated[n]; and he ſhould be able to point out the ſame wiſe contrivance in the different ſprings which produce motion[o], and in the means employed to preſerve and perpetuate each ſpecies[p].

However limited the ſtudy of the celeſtial and eternal bodies may be, it more excites our tranſports than that of terreſtrial and periſhable ſub-

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[l] Ariſtot. de Anim. Inceſſ. cap. 7, t. i. p. 738. Id. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 2, cap. 11, t. i. p. 785.
[m] Id. de Part. Anim. paſſim.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 5, t. i. p. 976.
[o] Id. de Anim. Inceſſ. t. i. p. 733.
[p] Id. de Gener. t. i. p. 493.

ſtances. It may be ſaid that the view of the heavens makes the ſame impreſſion on the natural philoſopher, as beauty makes on a man who, to obtain the object of whom he is enamoured, would willingly conſent to cloſe his eyes on the reſt of the world[q]. But if philoſophy, in aſcending to the ſuperior regions, aſtoniſhes us by the ſublimity of her diſcoveries, at leaſt while ſhe remains on earth ſhe delights us by the profuſion of knowledge which ſhe procures us, and which indemnifies us with intereſt for all the toil it may have coſt us. What charms, in fact, does not Nature diffuſe over the labours of the philoſopher who, convinced that ſhe does nothing in vain[r], has been able to diſcover the ſecret of her operations, who every where recognizes the impreſs of her greatneſs, and imitates not the puerile pride of thoſe minds who diſdain to caſt down their eyes upon an inſect? Some ſtrangers coming to conſult Heraclitus found him near an oven, where he had taken refuge from the rigours of the ſeaſon. As they ſtopped on the threſhold of the door, from a kind of ſhame, he cried out to them, "Enter! the immortal gods do not diſdain to honour theſe places with their preſence." The majeſty of Nature in like manner ennobles the beings which are moſt vile in our

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[q] Ariſtot. de Part. Anim. lib. 1, cap. 5, t. i. p. 974.
[r] Id. de Cœl. lib. 2, cap. 11, t. i. p. 463. Id. de Anim. Inceſſ. cap. 2, t. i. p. 734.

eyes; every where this common mother acts with profound wiſdom, and by ways which lead with certainty to the ends ſhe has propoſed [s].

When we glance over the infinite number of her productions, we immediately perceive that, to ſtudy them with profit, diſcern their relations, and deſcribe them with accuracy, it is neceſſary to arrange them in a certain order, and diſtribute them firſt into a ſmall number of claſſes, ſuch as thoſe of animals, plants, and minerals. If we afterwards examine each of theſe claſſes, we ſhall find that the beings of which they are compoſed, having between themſelves reſemblances and differences more or leſs ſenſible, ſhould be divided and ſubdivided into various ſpecies, until we arrive at individuals.

Scales of this kind would be eaſy to form, if it were poſſible exactly to aſcertain the tranſition from one ſpecies to another; but theſe changes being made in an imperceptible manner [t], we inceſſantly riſk confounding what ought to be diſtinguiſhed, and diſtinguiſhing what is in reality not different. This is the defect of the methods which have hitherto been made public [u]; and in which we ſee with ſurpriſe certain birds claſſed among aquatic animals, or in a ſpecies equally foreign to their na-

[s] Ariſtot. de Part. Anim. lib. 1, cap. 5, t. i. p. 975.
[t] Id. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 8, cap. 1, t. i. p. 897.
[u] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. i. p. 971.

ture. The authors of theſe ſchemes have been miſtaken in their principle, they have judged of the whole by the part. Thus ſome, taking wings for a ſpecific difference, have divided all animals into two great families, the one containing thoſe which have wings, and the other thoſe which have not; without perceiving that, among individuals of the ſame ſpecies, as for example ants, there are ſome which have wings, and others which have them not [x].

The diviſion of animals into domeſtic and wild, though adopted by ſome naturaliſts, is equally defective; for man, and the animals which he has been able to tame, do not ſpecifically differ from the man, the horſe, and the dog that live in the woods [y].

Every diviſion, to be exact, ought to eſtabliſh a real difference between the objects which it diſtinguiſhes; and every difference, to be ſpecific, ought to unite in one ſingle and ſame ſpecies all the individuals which appertain to it [z]; that is to ſay, all thoſe which are abſolutely alike, or which differ only by more or leſs.

As theſe conditions are very difficult to fulfil [a], Ariſtotle has conceived a plan which unites all the advantages, without any of the inconveniences, of

x Ariſtot. de Part. Anim. lib. 1, cap. 3, t. i. p. 971.
y Id. ibid. p. 972.
z Id. ibid. p. 971.
a Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 974.

the preceding methods. He will explain it in one of his treatiſes [b]; and this treatiſe will certainly be the work of the man of induſtry who omits nothing, and the man of genius who ſees every thing *.

Among the obſervations with which he will enrich his hiſtory of animals, there are ſome which he has communicated to me, and which I ſhall here repeat, that you may know in what manner nature is at preſent ſtudied.

1ſt. Conſidering animals with reſpect to climate, it has been found that wild ones are more ferocious in Aſia, ſtronger in Europe, and more varied in their forms in Africa, which according to the proverb is ever productive of ſome new monſter [c]. Thoſe which live on the mountains are more miſchievous than thoſe of the plains [d]. I know not, however, whether this difference proceeds from the places which they inhabit, or from the defect of food; for in Egypt, where ſeveral kinds of animals are provided with ſuſtenance, the moſt fierce and the gentleſt live quietly together, and the crocodile licks the hand of the prieſt who brings him food [e].

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[b] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. t. i. p. 761.

* M. de Buffon has extremely well explained this plan in the preface to the firſt volume of his Natural Hiſtory.

[c] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 8, cap. 28, t. i. p. 920, A.

[d] Id. ibid. cap. 20, p. 920, C.

[e] Id. ibid. lib. 9, cap. 1, p. 923.

The climate has a powerful influence on their manners [f]. Extreme cold or heat renders them ferocious and cruel [g]. The winds, waters, and the aliments on which they ſubſiſt, are ſometimes ſufficient to produce conſiderable differences [h]. The nations of the ſouth are timid and abject, thoſe of the north courageous and confident; but the former are more enlightened, perhaps becauſe they are more ancient, perhaps alſo becauſe they are more ſoftened and enfeebled; for, in fact, men of daring and ardent paſſions are rarely tormented with the reſtleſs deſire of obtaining knowledge [i].

The ſame cauſe which produces theſe moral differences among men, acts alſo on their organization. Among other proofs of this obſervation, it may be remarked that the colour of the eye is commonly blue in cold, and black in hot countries [k].

2d. Birds are very ſenſible of the rigours of the ſeaſons [l]. At the approach of winter or of ſummer, ſome deſcend into the plain, or retire to the mountains; others depart into diſtant countries, to breathe a more temperate air. Thus, to avoid the exceſs of heat and cold, the Perſian monarch ſuc-

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f Plat. de Leg. lib. 5, t. ii. p. 747.
g Ariſtot. Problem. ſect. 14, t. ii. p. 750.
h Plat. de Leg. ibid.
i Ariſtot. ibid. p. 752.
k Id. ibid. p. 751.
l Id. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 8, cap. 12, t. i. p. 908.

ceſſively removes his court to the northern and the ſouthern provinces of his empire [m].

The time of the departure and return of birds is always about the equinoxes. The weakeſt lead the van. They almoſt all go together, and as it were in tribes; and have ſometimes a long journey to perform before they arrive at the place of their deſtination. The cranes come from Scythia, and direct their courſe to the marſhes in Upper Egypt, and the places where the Nile has its ſource, and where the pygmies are found.—How! ſaid I, do you believe in the exiſtence of pygmies? Are they ſtill at war with the cranes, as they were in Homer's time [n]? That war, replied he, is a fiction of the poet, which will not be adopted by the hiſtorian of nature *. The pygmies, however, really exiſt; they are a race of men who are very ſmall, as are likewiſe their horſes; they are black, and live in caves after the manner of the Troglodytæ [o].

The ſame cauſe, added Euclid, which compels certain birds annually to exchange one country for another, acts likewiſe in the depths of the

[m] Xenoph. Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 8, p. 233. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 604. Athen. lib. 12, p. 513. Ælian. de Animal. lib. 3, cap. 13.

[n] Homer. Iliad. lib. 3, v. 4.

* Ariſtotle has not related this fable, though he has been accuſed of it by ſome writers on the authority of the Latin tranſlation.

[o] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 8, cap. 12, p. 907. Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 32. Nonnos ap. Phot. p. 8. Cteſias ap. eund. p. 144. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxviii. p. 306.

waters[p]. At Byzantium we ſee, at ſtated times, ſeveral ſpecies of fiſh, ſometimes aſcend towards the Pontus Euxinus, and at other ſeaſons deſcend into the Ægean Sea; they go in a collective body, like the birds; and their route, like human life, is marked by the ſnares which await them in their paſſage.

Reſearches have been made into the duration of the life of animals; and it has been thought that, in many ſpecies, the females live longer than the males. But, without attending to this difference, we may affirm that dogs commonly live fourteen or fifteen, and ſometimes even twenty years[q]; oxen about the ſame time[r]; horſes uſually eighteen or twenty, ſometimes thirty, or even fifty[s]; aſſes above thirty[t] *; camels above fifty[u] †, and ſometimes even to a hundred[x]; elephants, according to ſome, live two hundred years, and, according to others, three hundred[y]. It was anciently pretended that the ſtag lived four times the age of the crow, and the latter nine times the age of

[p] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 8, cap. 13, p. 909.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 20, t. i. p. 878. Buff. Hiſt. Nat. t. v. p. 223.
[r] Ariſtot. ibid. cap. 21, p. 879.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 22, p. 880.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 23, p. 881.
* According to M. de Buffon, aſſes like horſes live 25 or 30 years (Hiſt. Natur. t. iv. p. 226).
[u] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 6, cap. 26, p. 882.
† According to M. de Buffon, 40 or 50 years (t. ii. p. 239).
[x] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 8, cap. 9, p. 906.
[y] Id. ibid.

man [z]. All that is at preſent certainly known with reſpect to the ſtag is, that the time of geſtation and the rapid growth of that animal will not permit us to ſuppoſe that it is very long-lived [a].

Nature ſometimes produces exceptions to her general laws. The Athenians will tell you of a mule which died at the age of eighty years. At the time the temple of Minerva was built it was ſet at liberty, and releaſed from all further labour, on account of its great age; but it ſtill continued to go before the others, animating them by its example, and ſeeking to partake in their toil. The dealers in the markets were, by a decree of the people, forbidden to drive it away when it approached the baſkets of grain or fruits which they expoſed to ſale [b].

It has been remarked, as I have ſaid above, that nature paſſes from one genus or ſpecies to another by imperceptible gradations [c]; and that from man to the moſt inſenſible beings all her productions ſeem to form one cloſely connected ſeries. Let us begin with minerals, which conſtitute the firſt link of the chain.

I behold only a matter which is paſſive, ſterile, unorganized, and conſequently without wants and

[z] Heſiod. ap. Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 415.
[a] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 6, cap. 29, p. 883.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 24, p. 882. Plin. lib. 8, cap. 44, t. i. p. 470. Plut. de Solert. Anim. t. ii. p. 970.
[c] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 8, cap. 1, t. i. p. 897.

without

without functions. Preſently I ſeem to diſcern in certain plants a kind of motion, ſome obſcure ſenſations, a ſpark of life; and in all a conſtant reproduction, but deprived of thoſe maternal cares by which it is cheriſhed. I repair to the ſhores of the ſea, and am inclined to doubt whether its ſhell-fiſh belong to the claſs of animals or to that of vegetables. Again I return, and the ſigns of life multiply around me. I ſee beings that move, reſpire, and are influenced by paſſions and duties. If there are ſome that, like the plants of which I have juſt ſpoken, are abandoned to chance from the moment of their birth, there are others whoſe education is attended to with more care. Theſe live in ſociety with the fruit of their loves; thoſe are become ſtrangers to their families. Several preſent to me the ſketch of our manners: I find among them gentle and ungovernable diſpoſitions; the ſigns of mildneſs, courage, audacity, barbarity, fear, and cowardice, and ſometimes even the image of prudence and reaſon. We poſſeſs underſtanding, wiſdom, and the arts; and they have faculties which ſupply the place of theſe advantages[d].

This ſucceſſion of analogies at length conducts us to the extremity of the chain, where man is placed. Among the qualities which entitle him to the firſt rank, I remark two which are eſſential:

[d] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 8, cap. 1, t. i. p. 897; lib. 9, cap. 7, p. 928.

the firſt is that underſtanding, which while he lives raiſes him to the contemplation of celeſtial things[e]; and the ſecond his happy organization, and eſpecially the touch, the firſt, moſt neceſſary, and moſt exquiſite of our ſenſes[f], the ſource of induſtry, and the inſtrument moſt proper to ſecond the operations of the mind. It is to the hand, ſaid the philoſopher Anaxagoras, that man owes a part of his ſuperiority over other animals[g].

But why, ſaid I, do you place man at the extremity of the chain? Is the immenſe ſpace which ſeparates him from the Divine Being only one vaſt deſert? The Egyptians, the Chaldean magi, the Phrygians, and the Thracians fill this interval with beings as much ſuperior to us as we are to the brutes[h].

I meant, replied Euclid, only to ſpeak of viſible beings. It is to be preſumed that there are above us an infinite number of others who eſcape our ſight. From the rudeſt kind of exiſtence we have aſcended by imperceptible degrees to our own ſpecies; and, in proceeding from that limit to the Divinity, we muſt, no doubt, paſs through differ-

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[e] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 10, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 140.

[f] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 2, cap. 8, t. i. p. 987. De Senſ. cap. 4, t. i. p. 668. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 1, cap. 15, t. i. p. 773. De Anim. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. i. p. 642; lib. 3, cap. 12, p. 661. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316.

[g] Plut. de Frat. Amor. t. ii. p. 478.

[h] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 14, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 1003. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 415.

ent orders of intelligences, by ſo much the more glorious and pure as they approach nearer to the throne of the Eternal Being.

This opinion, which is conformable to the progreſs of nature, is equally ancient and general among various nations. From them we have borrowed it; and we believe the earth and the heavens to be filled with genii to whom the Supreme Being has confided the government of the univerſe [i]. We diſtribute them throughout all animated nature, but principally in thoſe regions which extend around and above us, from the earth to the ſphere of the moon. There exerciſing an extenſive authority, they diſpenſe life and death, good and evil, light and darkneſs.

Each nation and each individual find in theſe inviſible agents a friend anxious to protect, or an enemy ardent to perſecute them. They are clothed with an aerial body [k], and their eſſence is of a middle nature between the divine and human [l]. They excel us in intelligence. Some are ſubject to like paſſions with us [m], and the greater part to changes by which they paſs to a ſuperior order; for the innumerable multitude of ſpirits is divided

[i] Pythag. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8, § 32. Thales ap. eund. lib. 1, § 27. Id. ap. Ariſtot. de Anim. lib. 1, cap. 8, t. i. p. 628. Id. ap. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2, cap. 11, t. iii. p. 145. Plat. de Leg. lib. 10, t. ii. p. 899.

[k] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 431.

[l] Id. ibid. p. 415.

[m] Id. ibid. p. 416.

into four principal claſſes: the firſt is that of the gods, who are the objects of adoration, and who reſide in the ſtars; the ſecond, that of the genii, properly ſo called; the third, that of the heroes, who during their lives have rendered great ſervices to mankind; and the fourth, that of the ſouls of men after they are ſeparated from their bodies. We decree to the three former claſſes honours in which we ourſelves ſhall one day participate, and which will raiſe us ſucceſſively to the dignities of heroes, genii, and gods [n].

Euclid, who underſtood no better than I the motives for theſe promotions, added that certain genii were, like us, a prey to inquietudes, and like us ſubjected to death [o]. I aſked him what duration had been aſſigned to their life. According to Heſiod, anſwered he, the genii live ſeveral thouſand years; and according to Pindar a hamadryad dies with the tree in which it is incloſed [p].

Sufficient attention, replied I, has not been paid to this moſt intereſting ſubject: it would however be of importance could we learn the degree of authority which theſe intelligences exerciſe over us. Perhaps we ought to attribute to them many effects, of the cauſes of which we are ignorant: they are perhaps the authors of many unforeſeen

[n] Heſiod. ap. Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 415. Pythag. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8, § 23.
[o] Plut. ibid. p. 419.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 415.

events, whether in games of chance, or in political affairs. I confeſs I am diſguſted with the hiſtory of men, and could wiſh that of theſe inviſible beings might be written. Here comes one, anſwered Euclid, who can furniſh you with excellent materials for ſuch a work.

The Pythagorean Teleſicles entering at the ſame moment, informed himſelf of the ſubject of our converſation, and ſeemed ſurpriſed that we had never ſeen any genii [q]. It is true, ſaid he, they only manifeſt themſelves to ſouls who have been long prepared by meditation and prayer. He afterwards confeſſed that his own ſometimes honoured *him* with his preſence; and that, yielding one day to his repeated entreaties, he had conveyed him into the region of ſpirits. Condeſcend, ſaid I, to relate to us the circumſtances of your journey: I conjure you *in the name of him who taught the virtues of the numbers* 1, 2, 3, 4 [r]*. Teleſicles immediately complied with my requeſt, and began as follows:

The moment of departure being arrived, I felt my ſoul diſengaged from the bonds which unite it to the body, and found myſelf in the midſt of a

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[q] Ariſtot. ap. Apul. de Deo Socrat. t. ii. p. 83.

[r] Iamblich. cap. 28, p. 127; cap. 29, p. 138. Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. 47. Hierocl. ibid. p. 170.

* That is to ſay, *in the name of Pythagoras.* I have given the form of adjuration in uſe among the diſciples of that great man who diſcovered the harmonical proportions in theſe numbers.

new world of animated ſubſtances, good and malevolent [s], cheerful and melancholy, prudent and raſh. We followed them for ſome time; and I thought I could perceive that they directed the intereſts of ſtates and thoſe of individuals, the enquiries of ſages, and the opinions of the multitude [t].

Preſently, a female figure, of gigantic ſtature, extended a ſable pall over the vault of heaven; and having ſlowly deſcended to the earth, gave her orders to her attendants who followed her. We entered ſeveral houſes where Sleep and his miniſters were profuſely ſhedding their poppies; and while Silence and Peace were ſoftly ſeated near the virtuous man, Remorſe and terrifying ſpectres violently ſhook the bed of the villain. Plato wrote as the genius of Homer dictated to him, and pleaſing dreams fluttered around the youthful Lycoris.

Aurora and the Hours, ſaid my conductor to me, now unbar the gates of day; it is time for us to riſe into the air. Behold the tutelary genii of Athens, Corinth, and Lacedæmon, who hover on the wing, and fly in circles above thoſe cities [u].

[s] Thal. Pythag. Plat. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 882.

[t] Moſhem. in Cudw. cap. 4, § 34, p. 798. Bruck. t. i. p. 1113.

[u] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 10, p. 620. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 35.

They drive away from them, as far as is in their power, the evils by which they are menaced. Yet ſoon ſhall their fields be laid waſte; for the genii of the ſouth, enveloped in gloomy clouds, advance with hoarſe clamours againſt thoſe of the north. Wars are as frequent in theſe regions as on earth; and the combat of the Titans and the Typhons was only a conteſt between two tribes of genii [x].

Now obſerve thoſe buſy agents who, with a flight as rapid and reſtleſs as that of the ſwallow, ſkim the earth, and caſt on every ſide their eager and piercing eyes. Theſe are the inſpectors of human affairs, ſome of whom diffuſe gentle influences over the mortals they protect [y], while others let looſe the implacable Nemeſis to puniſh the guilty [z]. Behold thoſe mediators, thoſe interpreters, who aſcend and deſcend inceſſantly: they convey to the gods the vows and offerings of men, and bring back to earth happy or ill-boding dreams, and the ſecrets of futurity [a], which are afterwards revealed to mankind by the oracles.

O my protector! ſuddenly exclaimed I; ſee yonder are beings whoſe ſtature and gloomy appearance inſpire terror: they are coming towards us. Let us fly them, ſaid he; they are wretched

[x] Plut. de Iſid. t. ii. p. 360. Id. de Orac. Defec. p. 421.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 417. Heſiod. ibid.
[z] Tim. Locr. in Oper. Plat. t. iii. p. 105.
[a] Plut. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 202 et 203. Plut. de Iſid. t. ii. p. 361. Id. de Orac. Def. p. 416. Diog. Laert. lib. 8, § 32.

ſpirits, the happineſs of others irritates them, and they only ſpare thoſe who paſs their lives in ſufferings and in tears[b].

Eſcaped from their fury, we met with other objects not leſs afflicting. Ate, the deteſtable Ate, the eternal ſource of the diſſenſions which torment men, fiercely ſtalked above their heads, and breathed into their hearts outrage and vengeance[c]; while, with a timid ſtep and downcaſt eyes, the Prayers followed in her foot-ſteps, and endeavoured to reſtore peace wherever Diſcord had appeared[d]. Glory was followed by Envy, who at the ſame time gnawed her own ſides; Truth by Impoſture, who every inſtant changed her maſk; and each virtue by ſeveral vices who carried nets or poniards.

On a ſudden, Fortune appeared. I congratulated her on the gifts which ſhe diſtributed to mortals. I give not, ſaid ſhe, in a ſtern tone; but I lend at great intereſt[e]. As ſhe uttered theſe words, ſhe dipped the flowers and fruits which ſhe held in one hand into a cup of poiſon which ſhe carried in the other.

Two powerful divinities then paſſed us, who left behind them long ſtreams of light. Theſe, ſaid my conductor, are the impetuous Mars and the

[b] Xenocr. ap. Plut. de Iſid. t. ii. p. 361.
[c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 19, v. 91.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 9, v. 500.
[e] Bion. ap. Stob. Serm. 103, p. 563.

wiſe Minerva. Two armies are approaching each other in Bœotia: Minerva haſtens to take her ſtation by the ſide of Epaminondas, the general of the Thebans; and Mars flies to join the Lacedæmonians, who will be vanquiſhed; for wiſdom muſt ever triumph over valour.

Obſerve, at the ſame time, yon pair of genii who precipitately deſcend to earth. The one is a good and the other an evil genius; they haſten to exert their power on a new-born infant: in this firſt moment of his exiſtence they will contend with each other to give him all the good qualities or all the deformities of which the heart and mind are capable; and in the courſe of his life he will incline to good or evil, as the influence of the one ſhall prevail over that of the other[f].

In the mean time, I beheld beings aſcend and deſcend whoſe features appeared to me more groſs than thoſe of the genii. I was informed that theſe were ſouls which were about to be united to, or which had lately quitted, mortal bodies. On a ſudden there appeared numerous ſwarms of them, which followed each other at intervals, and ſpread themſelves through the wide fields of air, like clouds of a whitiſh duſt. The battle is begun, ſaid the genius; the blood flows in torrents. O blind and wretched mortals! Behold the ſouls of

[f] Empedocl. ap. Plut. de Anim. Tranquil. t. ii. p. 474. Xenocr. et Plat. ap. eund. de Orac. Def. p. 419. Van Dale de Orac. p. 6.

the Lacedæmonians and Thebans who periſh in the fields of Leuctra! Whither are they going, ſaid I? Follow me, anſwered he, and you ſhall know.

We paſſed the boundaries of the empire of darkneſs and of death; and, having proceeded beyond the ſphere of the moon, arrived at the regions which are enlightened by eternal day. Let us ſtop a moment, ſaid my guide. Survey the magnificent ſcene which ſurrounds us, and liſten to the divine harmony that is produced by the regular motion of the heavenly bodies[g]. Obſerve how each planet and each ſtar is attended by a genius which directs its courſe. Theſe ſtars are inhabited by ſublime intelligences of a nature ſuperior to ours.

While, fixing my eyes on the ſun, I contemplated, with raviſhing delight, the genius whoſe vigorous arm propels that reſplendent globe along the path which it deſcribes[h], I ſaw him repulſe with fury the greater part of the ſouls which we had met, permitting only a ſmall number of them to plunge into the boiling waves of that luminary[i]. Theſe latter, ſaid my guide, are leſs guilty than the others, and will be purified by the flame; after which they will wing their way to the differ-

[g] Iambl. de Vit. Pythag. cap. 15, p. 52. Empedocl. ap. Porphyr. de Vit. Pythag. p. 35.

[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10, t. ii. p. 819.

[i] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 4, § 10, p. 329. Bruck. t. i. p. 296.

ent ſtars, in which they were diſtributed at the time of the formation of the univerſe, where they will remain until the laws of nature recal them to the earth to animate other bodies [k]. But what, ſaid I, ſhall be the deſtiny of thoſe whom the genius has repulſed? They, anſwered he, muſt repair to the Field of Truth, where juſt judges will condemn the moſt criminal to the torments of Tartarus [l], and the others to long and painful peregrinations. Then, directing my eyes, he ſhewed me millions of ſouls who, for thouſands of years, had wandered mournfully in the air, and exhauſted themſelves in vain efforts to obtain an aſylum in one of the celeſtial globes [m]. Theſe, ſaid he, can only arrive, like the firſt, at the place of their origin, after ſevere trials [n].

Filled with commiſeration at their ſufferings, I entreated my guide to remove me from the ſight of them, and conduct me toward a diſtant part of the heavens whence iſſued rays of a moſt reſplendent light. I hoped to obtain a glimpſe of the ſovereign of the univerſe, ſurrounded by the attendants of his throne, which our philoſophers call numbers, eternal ideas, and immortal genii [o].

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[k] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42.

[l] Axioch. ap. Plut. t. iii. p. 371.

[m] Empedocl. ap. Plut. de Vitand. Ære Alien. t. ii. p. 830. Diog. Laert. lib. 8, § 77.

[n] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42.

[o] Anonym. de Vit. Pythag. ap. Phot. p. 1316. Beauſobr. Hiſt. du Manich. t. i. p. 576.

He inhabits, ſaid the genius, a region inacceſſible to mortals; offer to him your adoration, and let us deſcend to the earth.

After Teleſicles had retired, I ſaid to Euclid, By what name are we to call the diſcourſe we have juſt heard? Is it a dream, or is it a fiction? It is certainly one or the other, anſwered he; but, in fact, Teleſicles has advanced ſcarcely any thing which is not conformable to the opinions of the philoſophers. We muſt do him juſtice: he might, by adopting thoſe of the multitude, conſiderably have increaſed the population of the air; and have ſpoken concerning thoſe ſhades which the art of diviners and ſorcerers raiſes up from the receſſes of the tomb [p]; of thoſe unhappy ſouls which hover diſquieted around their bodies deprived of burial; and of thoſe gods and phantoms which roam the ſtreets during the night to terrify or to devour children

I am obliged to him for this moderation, replied I: but I could wiſh that he had enlarged ſomewhat more on the nature of that beneficent being to which I appertain; and which, as has been ſaid, God has appointed to watch over my thoughts and actions [r]. Why am I not permitted to know and to love him? Teleſicles has already anſwered

[p] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 11, v. 37.
[q] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2, t. ii. p. 381. Theocr. Idyl. 15, v. 40.
[r] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10, t. ii. p. 903 et 906.

your queſtion, replied Euclid. The happineſs of ſeeing the genii is only permitted to pure ſouls. I have however heard, ſaid I, of apparitions that have been ſeen by a whole people. Undoubtedly, anſwered Euclid; and of this kind was that, the tradition of which is ſtill preſerved in Italy, and which has been made the ſubject of a painting that I myſelf have ſeen. The tale is a tiſſue of abſurdities, but it will at leaſt ſhew to what an extravagant length impoſture and credulity have ſometimes been carried.

Ulyſſes having landed at Temeſa, a town of the Brutii, one of his companions, named Polites, was murdered by the inhabitants, who ſoon after ſuffered all the ſcourges of celeſtial vengeance. The oracle being conſulted, commanded them to appeaſe the genius of Polites, to erect a ſacred edifice to his honour, and annually to offer to him the moſt beautiful virgin to be found in the country. They obeyed, and their calamities ceaſed. Towards the ſixty-ſixth Olympiad, a famous athleta, named Euthymus, arrived at Temeſa at the time when one of theſe unhappy victims was to be carried into the temple. He obtained permiſſion to follow her; and, enamoured of her charms, aſked her if ſhe would conſent to marry him if he ſhould deliver her. She conſented: the genius appeared; and, being overpowered by the ſuperior

ſtrength of the athleta, renounced the tribute which he had received during ſeven or eight centuries, and haſtened to precipitate himſelf into the neighbouring ſea [s].

[s] Strab. lib. 6, p. 255. Pauſan. lib. 6, cap. 6, p. 467.

CHAP. LXV.

Continuation of the Library.—Hiſtory.

THE next day Euclid, ſeeing me arrive early, ſaid to me, You give me new courage; I had feared that you had been diſguſted by the length of our laſt converſation. To-day we will turn our attention to hiſtory, and we ſhall not be retarded in our progreſs by opinions and precepts. Many authors have written hiſtory; but no one has yet treated on the manner in which it ought to be written, and the ſtyle ſuitable to hiſtorical narration [t].

We ſhall place at the head of theſe authors Cadmus, who lived about two centuries ſince. His work is an illuſtration of the antiquities of Miletus, his country [u], and was abridged by Bion of Proconneſus [x].

From the time of Cadmus we have an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of hiſtorians. Among the moſt ancient I ſhall name, Eugeon of Samos, Deiochus of Proconneſus, Eudemus of Paros, and Democlès

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[t] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 15, t. i. p. 206.
[u] Suid. in Κάδμ.
[x] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6, p. 752.

of Pygela [y]. When I read theſe authors, anſwered I, I was not only diſguſted at the abſurd fables which they relate, but rejected all the facts they record, except thoſe to which they had themſelves been witneſſes. For, in fine, ſince they were the firſt who tranſmitted them to us, from what ſources did they derive their knowledge?

They found them, replied Euclid, in tradition, which from age to age preſerves the memory of the revolutions that have afflicted mankind; in the writings of poets, who have eternized the glory of heroes, the genealogies of ſovereigns, and the origin and emigrations of various nations [z]; in thoſe long inſcriptions which record treaties between ſtates [a]; and the regiſters of the ſucceſſion of the prieſts, preſerved in the principal temples of Greece [b]. They found them alſo in the feſtivals, ſtatues, altars, and edifices conſecrated on account of certain events, the memory of which the places and ceremonies ſeemed annually to renew.

It is true that the narrative of theſe events became gradually loaded with marvellous circumſtances, and that our firſt hiſtorians adopted without examination this confuſed maſs of truth and

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[y] Dionyſ. Halic. de Thucyd. Jud. t. vi. p. 818.
[z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. p. 165.
[a] Tacit. Ann. 4, cap. 43.
[b] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 2. Schol. ibid. Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Roman. lib. 1, t. i. p. 181. Polyb. Excerpt. p. 50. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. t. xxiii. p. 394.

error.

error. But, ſoon after, Acuſilaus, Pherecydes, Hecatæus, Xanthus, Hellanicus, and others, diſcriminated with better judgment; and, though they did not entirely reſtore order to the chaos, they at leaſt gave the example of contemning as they merited the fictions of the firſt ages.

Here is the work in which Acuſilaus has given the genealogies of the ancient royal families [c]. He goes back to the ages before the war of Troy, and even as far as Phoroneus king of Argos. I know it, anſwered I; and I laughed heartily when I found that author and thoſe who followed him called Phoroneus the firſt of mortals [d]. Acuſilaus, however, deſerves our lenity; if he makes the origin of the human race too modern, he removes back that of Love, whom he conſiders as one of the moſt ancient of the gods, and repreſents as born with the world [e].

A ſhort time after Acuſilaus, ſaid Euclid, flouriſhed Pherecydes of Athens, or rather of Leros, one of the Sporade iſlands [f]. He has collected the traditions relative to the hiſtory of Athens, and, occaſionally, to that of the neighbouring ſtates [g]. His work contains intereſting details,

[c] Suid. in Ἀκουσίλ.

[d] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1, p. 380. Solon. ap. Plut. in Tim. t. iii. p. 22.

[e] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 178.

[f] Salm. in Plin. p. 846. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4, p. 445. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxix. p. 67.

[g] Suid. in Φερ. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. paſſim.

ſuch as the founding of ſeveral cities, and the emigrations of the firſt inhabitants of Greece [h]. His genealogies have a defect which, in the origin of ſocieties, rendered a family illuſtrious. After they have been carried back to the moſt remote ages, the knot is ſolved by the intervention of ſome divinity. Thus, for example, we are told that Orion was the ſon of Neptune and Euryale, and Triptolemus the ſon of Ocean and the Earth [i].

About the ſame time appeared Hecatæus of Miletus, and Xanthus of Lydia, who both acquired a reputation enfeebled but not deſtroyed by the labours of others. The former, in his hiſtory and his genealogies, undertakes to illuſtrate the antiquities of the Greeks, which he ſometimes examines critically, and rejects the marvellous. He begins his work as follows: "Hecatæus of Miletus is the author of this hiſtory: I have written what appeared to me to be true. The Greeks, in my opinion, have related many things which are contradictory and ridiculous [k]." Should we imagine that, after this introduction, he would have attributed the power of ſpeech to the ram which carried Phrixus to Colchis [l]?

The ſubject of hiſtory had hitherto been confined to Greece; Hecatæus extended its limits to

[h] Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1, t. i. p. 35.
[i] Apollod. Biblioth. lib. 1, p. 15 et 17.
[k] Demet. Phal. de Elocut. cap. 12.
[l] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. p. 478.

Egypt, and other countries till then unknown [m]. His deſcription of the earth threw a new light on geography [n], and furniſhed materials to the hiſtorians who have followed him [o].

Here is the hiſtory of Lydia by Xanthus, an accurate writer, and extremely well acquainted with the antiquities of his country [p]. Near it are ſeveral works which Hellanicus of Leſbos has publiſhed on the different nations of Greece [q]. This author, who died in the twenty-firſt year of the Peloponneſian war [r] *, is ſometimes defective from want of method, and too great brevity [s], but he cloſes with honour the liſt of our earlieſt hiſtorians.

All theſe writers had confined themſelves to the hiſtory of a ſingle city or ſtate, and all were ignorant of the art of connecting in one ſeries the events which have paſſed in the different nations of the earth, and forming one regular whole from ſuch a number of detached parts. Herodotus had the merit of conceiving and executing this grand idea. He unfolded to the eyes of the Greeks the

[m] Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 143. Agathem. de Geogr. lib. 1, cap. 1.

[n] Strab. lib. 1, p. 1 et 7; lib. 6, p. 271; lib. 12, p. 550.

[o] Porph. ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10, cap. 3, p. 466.

[p] Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1, t. i. p. 73.

[q] Voſſ. de Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 7; lib. 4, cap. 5, p. 448.

[r] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxix. p. 70.

* Towards the year 410 before Chriſt.

[s] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 97.

annals of the known world; and preſented to them, in one point of view, whatever memorable tranſactions had paſſed during a ſpace of about two hundred and forty years[t]. Then was ſeen, for the firſt time, a ſucceſſion of images which, placed by the ſide of each other, only became more terrifying; nations were beheld ever diſquiet and in motion, though jealous of their tranquillity; diſunited by intereſt, and connected by war; ſighing for liberty, and groaning under tyranny; every where guilt was ſeen triumphant, virtue perſecuted, the earth deluged with blood, and the empire of deſtruction eſtabliſhed from one end of the world to the other. But the hand which depicted theſe ſcenes knew ſo well to ſoften the horror of them by the charms of colouring and agreeable images; to the beauties of the deſign added ſuch grace, harmony, and variety; and ſo frequently excited that ſweet ſenſibility which rejoices in good and laments evil[u], that the work of Herodotus was conſidered as one of the nobleſt productions of the human mind.

Permit me here to venture a reflection. It ſeems that, in literature as in the arts, men of abilities have firſt entered the liſts, and ſtruggled for ſome time againſt difficulties. After theſe have exhauſted their efforts, a man of genius ariſes, and

[t] Dionyſ. Halic. de Thucyd. Judic. t. vi. p. 820.
[u] Id. Epiſt. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 774.

forms a model which paſſes all the boundaries before known. This is what Homer did for the epic poem, and what Herodotus has done for general hiſtory. Thoſe who ſhall come after the latter may diſtinguiſh themſelves by the beauties of narrative, or more luminous criticiſm; but in the conduct of the work, and the connection of facts, they will doubtleſs ſeek leſs to ſurpaſs than to equal him.

As to the circumſtances of his life, it will be ſufficient to obſerve that he was born in the city of Halicarnaſſus in Caria, towards the fourth year of the ſeventy-third Olympiad [x] *; that he travelled into the greater part of the countries of which he intended to write the hiſtory; that his work, read in the aſſembly at the Olympic games, and afterwards in that of the Athenians, was received with univerſal applauſe [y]; and that, when forced to leave his country, which was rent by factions, he went to end his days in a city of Græcia Magna [z].

In the ſame age lived Thucydides, younger than Herodotus by about thirteen years [a]. He was of one of the firſt families of Athens [b]. Placed at the head of a body of troops, he for ſome time held in awe

[x] Scalig. ad Euſeb. p. 102. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 157.

* About the year 484 before Chriſt.

[y] Lucian. in Herodot. t. i. p. 833. Euſeb. Chron. p. 169 Plut. de Herod. Malign. t. ii. p. 862.

[z] Suid. in Ἡροδότ.

[a] Pamph. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 15, cap. 23.

[b] Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.

the forces of Braſidas, the moſt able general of Lacedæmon [c]; but the latter having ſurpriſed the city of Amphipolis, Athens revenged on Thucydides a misfortune which it was not in his power to prevent.

During his baniſhment from his native country, from which he was abſent twenty years [d], he collected materials for the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, and ſpared neither pains nor expence to make himſelf acquainted, not only with the cauſes which produced it, but alſo with the particular intereſts by which it was continued [e]. He viſited the different inimical ſtates, and every where conſulted the principal perſons in the government, the generals, the ſoldiers; and was himſelf a witneſs to the greater part of the events he propoſed to relate. His hiſtory, which compriſes the firſt one-and-twenty years of that fatal war, is ſtrongly characteriſed by his love of truth, and his diſpoſition which inclined him to reflection. Some Athenians who had ſeen him after his return from exile, have aſſured me that he was naturally very ſerious, thinking much, and ſpeaking little [f].

He was more deſirous to inſtruct than to pleaſe, and to arrive at the end he had propoſed than to

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[c] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 107.
[d] Id. lib. 5, cap. 26.
[e] Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.
[f] Idem.

wander from it by digreſſions [g]: his work therefore is not, like that of Herodotus, a ſpecies of poem, in which we find the traditions of different nations concerning their origin, the analyſis of their manners and cuſtoms, the deſcription of the countries they inhabit, and marvellous narratives which almoſt always awaken the imagination; but contains the annals, or rather the memoirs, of a ſoldier, who, at once a ſtateſman and a philoſopher, has intermingled in his narrations and his harangues the principles of wiſdom which he had learned from Anaxagoras, and the leſſons of eloquence which he had received from the orator Antiphon [h]. His reflections are often profound, and always juſt: his ſtyle, which is energetic, conciſe, and therefore ſometimes obſcure [i], at intervals offends the ear; but it inceſſantly commands attention, and it may be ſaid that its harſhneſs gives it majeſty [k]. If this eſtimable author employs obſolete expreſſions or novel words, it is becauſe a mind like his can rarely accommodate itſelf to a language which is ſpoken by every body. It has been alleged that Herodotus, from perſonal reaſons, has related traditions which are injurious to certain nations of

[g] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 22. Quintil. lib. 10, cap. 1, p. 634.
[h] Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.
[i] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 13 et 22, t. i. p. 204 et 214. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 83, t. i. p. 406. Id. Orat. cap. 9, p. 426. Dionyſ. Halic. de Thucyd. Jud. t. vi. p. 867.
[k] Demetr. Phaler. de Eloc. cap. 48 et 49.

Greece [l]. Thucydides has only ſlightly mentioned his baniſhment, and that without defending himſelf, or complaining of his fate [m]; and has repreſented Braſidas, whoſe glory eclipſed his own, and whoſe ſucceſs occaſioned his diſgrace, as a truly great man. The hiſtory of Thucydides was excellently continued by Xenophon, with whom you have been acquainted [n].

Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon will, no doubt, be conſidered by poſterity as the moſt eminent of our hiſtorians, though they differ eſſentially in their ſtyle: and eſpecially, added I, in the manner in which they ſeverally viewed objects. Herodotus every where beholds a jealous divinity who follows men and empires to the higheſt point of their elevation, to precipitate them into the abyſs [o]; Thucydides only ſees, in each reverſe of fortune, the errors of the chiefs of the ſtate, or the generals of the army; while Xenophon almoſt conſtantly attributes all good or ill ſucceſs to the favour or the anger of the gods. Thus, according to the firſt, all human affairs depend upon fatality; according to the ſecond, on prudence; and, according to the third, on piety towards the gods. So true is it that we are naturally diſpoſed to refer every thing to a favourite ſyſtem.

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[l] Plut. de Herod. Malign. t. ii. p. 854.
[m] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 26.
[n] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. p. 428.
[o] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 32; lib. 3, cap. 40, &c.

Euclid continued: Herodotus had given the firſt ſketch of the hiſtory of the Aſſyrians and Perſians. His errors have been detected by an author who was better acquainted than he was with thoſe two celebrated nations; I mean Cteſias of Cnidus, who lived in our time. He was phyſician to king Artaxerxes, and reſided a long time at the court of Suſa [p]. He has communicated to us what he found in the archives of the empire [q]; what he had ſeen, and what had been related to him by ocular witneſſes [r]. But if he is more accurate than Herodotus [s], he is inferior to him in ſtyle; though his likewiſe has many beauties [t], and is eſpecially diſtinguiſhed by its great perſpicuity [u]. Among many other works [x] Cteſias has bequeathed us a hiſtory of the Indies, in which he treats of the animals and natural productions of thoſe diſtant climates; but as he was not in poſſeſſion of the beſt materials, the truth of his accounts begins to be doubted [y].

Here are the antiquities of Sicily, and the life of Dionyſius the elder, and that of his ſon, by Phi-

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[p] Phot. Bibl. p. 105.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 2, p. 118.
[r] Phot. Bibl. p. 108.
[s] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. p. 176; t. xiv. p. 247.
[t] Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. t. v. p. 53.
[u] Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. cap. 218.
[x] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 881.
[y] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 8, cap. 28, t. i. p. 919. Id. de Gener. Animal. lib. 2, cap. 2, p. 1076. Lucian. Ver. Hiſt. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 71.

liſtus [z], who died a few years ſince, after having ſeen the fleet diſperſed which he commanded for the latter of thoſe princes. Philiſtus poſſeſſed talents which have in ſome meaſure rendered him the rival of Thucydides [a]; but he was a ſtranger to the virtues of Thucydides. He was a ſlave, who wrote only to flatter tyrants [b]; and who, in every part of his work, ſhews that he was ſtill more the friend of tyranny even than of tyrants.

I ſhall here conclude this enumeration, already too long. You will perhaps not find a ſingle people, city, or even a celebrated temple, which has not had its diſtinct hiſtorian. A number of writers are at preſent employed in this ſpecies of compoſition. I ſhall name to you Ephorus and Theopompus, who have already diſtinguiſhed themſelves; two Bœotians, named Anaxis and Dionyſiodorus, who have lately publiſhed the hiſtory of Greece [c]; and Anaximenes of Lampſacus, who has given us that of the Greeks and Barbarians, from the birth of the human race to the death of Epaminondas [d].

So pompous a title, ſaid I, would prejudice me againſt the work. Your chronology with difficulty

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[z] Suid. in Φιλίσ. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 397.
[a] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 13, t. i. p. 205.
[b] Dionyſ. Halic. de Priſc. Temp. t. v. p. 427. Tim. Ephor. ap. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 974.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 403.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 397.

extends to five or ſix centuries before the Trojan war; beyond which, time ends to you. If we except a ſmall number of foreign nations, the reſt of the earth is unknown to you. You perceive only a point in duration as in ſpace; and yet this author pretends to inform you of what has been done in the moſt diſtant ages and countries!

When we are acquainted with the titles that the Egyptians and Chaldeans can produce to the antiquity which they claim, with what pity muſt we ſurvey the imperfection and novelty of yours! How great was the ſurpriſe of the prieſts of Sais, when they heard Solon recount your traditions, and ſpeak of the reign of Phoroneus, the deluge of Deucalion, and other ſimilar epochas, ſo recent to them though ſo ancient to him! "Solon, Solon," ſaid one of theſe prieſts to him, "you Greeks are as yet only children [e]."

Nor have they yet ceaſed to be ſo. Some require in a hiſtory only the charms of ſtyle, and others ſupernatural and puerile adventures [f]. Others greedily devour thoſe tireſome liſts of unknown names and unintereſting facts, which, ſupported by a long train of fables and prodigies, almoſt entirely compoſe your ancient hiſtory; that hiſtory over which Homer has diffuſed an immor-

[e] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 22.
[f] Iſocr. in Panathen. t. ii. p. 180.

tal ſplendour, but which your chroniclers have rendered inſupportably wearifome and diſguſting.

I could wiſh that henceforth your authors might only beſtow their attention on the two or three laſt centuries, and that the ages preceding them ſhould be abandoned to the poets. You have exactly expreſſed the idea of Iſocrates, ſaid Euclid. He had induced two of his diſciples, Ephorus and Theopompus, to dedicate their labours entirely to hiſtory [g]. Ephorus is ſlow, and incapable of laborious reſearches: Theopompus is active, ardent, and fitted for diſcuſſions [h]. Iſocrates has therefore recommended to the former to apply himſelf to ancient, and to the latter to write modern hiſtory.

At this very moment, Ephorus and Theopompus entered the library. Euclid, who had expected them, ſaid to me, that they were to read to us ſome portions of the works on which they were then employed. They brought with them two or three of their friends, and Euclid had previouſly invited ſeveral of his. While we were waiting for theſe, the two hiſtorians told us that they had not waſted their time in endeavouring to elucidate the fictions of the ages preceding the war of Troy [i]; and, profeſſing the moſt ardent love of truth, added, that it was to be wiſhed that an author

[g] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 13, t. i. p. 205. Senec. de Tranquil. Anim. cap. 6. Phot. Biblioth. p. 1456.
[h] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 56, t. i. p. 383.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 4, p. 209.

could be preſent at all the tranſactions which he undertakes to deſcribe [k]

I have propoſed, ſaid Ephorus, to write an account of the events which have paſſed among both Greeks and barbarians, from the return of the Heraclidæ to the preſent time, during the ſpace of eight hundred and fifty years. In this work, which is divided into thirty books, each preceded by a proem [l], will be found the origin of different nations, the foundation of the principal cities, their colonies, laws, manners, the nature of their climates, and the great men which they have produced [m]. Ephorus concluded by acknowledging that the barbarous nations were more ancient than thoſe of Greece [n]; and this confeſſion prepoſſeſſed me in his favour.

This introduction was followed by the reading of a part of the eleventh book of his hiſtory, containing a deſcription of Egypt. In it, inſtead of the different opinions which have been propoſed concerning the inundation of the Nile [o], he has ſubſtituted one which is neither conſonant to the laws of nature, nor the circumſtances of that phenomenon [p]. I ſat near Euclid, and ſaid to him,

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[k] Polyb. lib. 12, p. 669. Strab. lib. 9, p. 422.
[l] Diod. Sic. lib. 4, p. 209; lib. 16, p. 468.
[m] Polyb. lib. 6, p. 488; lib. 9, p. 540. Strab. lib. 1, p. 33; lib. 10, p. 465.
[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 9.
[o] Theon. Progymn. p. 13.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 36.

Ephorus knows nothing of Egypt, nor has he conſulted thoſe who are acquainted with that country [q].

I was ſoon convinced that this author was not extremely ſolicitous to be accurate; and that, too faithfully copying the greater part of thoſe who had preceded him, he affected to embelliſh his narrative with the fables preſerved in the traditions of nations, and the relations of travellers [r].

He appeared to me ſtudiouſly to employ rhetorical figures. As the greater part of writers rank the orator above the hiſtorian, Ephorus imagined that he could not anſwer them better than by endeavouring ſucceſsfully to unite both theſe ſpecies of writing [s].

Notwithſtanding theſe defects, his work will always be conſidered as a valuable treaſure, becauſe every nation may ſeparately find in it, in an admirable order, whatever intereſting facts are relative to it. The ſtyle of this hiſtory is pure, elegant, and ornamental [t]; though too often ſtudiouſly reſtricted to certain forms of harmonious conſtruction [u], and almoſt always deſtitute of elevation and warmth [x].

When Ephorus had ended, all eyes were turned

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[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 37.
[r] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 5, p. 244; lib. 9, p. 422. Senec. Quæſt. Natur. lib. 7, cap. 16.
[s] Polyb. lib. 12, p. 670.
[t] Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. t. v. p. 173.
[u] Cicer. Orat. cap. 57, t. i. p. 469.
[x] Suid. in Ἔφορ. Dio. Chryſoſt. Orat. 18, p. 256.

towards Theopompus [y], who began by ſpeaking to us of himſelf: My father, Damoſtratus, ſaid he, having been baniſhed from the iſle of Chios, his native country, for having ſhewn too great an attachment to the Lacedæmonians, carried me with him into Greece; and, ſome time after, I came into this city, where I have unremittingly applied myſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence [z].

I have compoſed ſeveral diſcourſes; I have viſited different ſtates, and ſpoken in their aſſemblies; and, after a long courſe of ſucceſs, believe I may rank myſelf among the moſt eloquent men of the preſent age, and before the moſt eloquent of the laſt; for thoſe who were then eſteemed of the firſt claſs would now ſcarcely be admitted to a place in the ſecond [a].

Iſocrates induced me to paſs from the ſplendid track in which I had ſignalized myſelf, into that which has been rendered illuſtrious by the talents of Herodotus and Thucydides. I have continued the work of the latter [b]. I am now employed on the life of Philip of Macedon [c]; but far from confining myſelf to deſcribe the actions of that prince, I ſhall connect with my narrative the hiſtory of almoſt all nations, with an account of their man-

y Voſſ. de Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, cap. 7. Bayle, art. Theopompe.
z Phot. Bibl. p. 392.
a Id. ibid. p. 393.
b Polyb. Excerpt. p. 26. Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.
c Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 783.

ners and their laws. My plan is different from that of Ephorus, but equally extenſive

After the example of Thucydides, I have ſpared no labour to obtain an accurate knowledge of facts. Many of the events which I relate have paſſed under my eyes; and, with reſpect to the others, I have conſulted thoſe who were actors in or witneſſes of them [d]. There is not a country of Greece which I have not viſited [e], nor any where I have not formed connections with thoſe who directed its political or military operations. I am ſufficiently rich not to regard expence, and too much the friend of truth to fear fatigue [f].

Such extravagant vanity prepoſſeſſed us againſt the author: but he ſoon entered ſo luminous a track, diſplayed ſuch great knowledge of the affairs of Greece and other nations, ſuch judgment in the diſtribution of facts [g], and ſuch ſimplicity, perſpicuity, elevation, and harmony in his ſtyle [h], that we were compelled to laviſh eulogiums on the man who of all others moſt deſerved to be mortified.

He however continued to read, and our admiration began to cool. We were fatigued with

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[d] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 783.
[e] Phot. Bibl. p. 392.
[f] Athen. lib. 3, cap. 7, p. 85.
[g] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 782, &c
[h] Id. ibid. p. 786.

fables

fables and incredible tales [i]. He told us that the man who, in deſpite of the prohibition of the gods, ſhould be able to enter a certain temple of Jupiter, in Arcadia, enjoyed during his whole life after an extraordinary privilege: his body, though expoſed to the rays of the ſun, caſt no ſhadow [k]. He affirmed likewiſe that, in the firſt years of the reign of Philip, the fig-trees, vines, and olives, in ſome cities of Macedonia, ſuddenly bore ripe fruits in the middle of ſpring; and that from that time the affairs of this prince continually proſpered [l].

His digreſſions are ſo frequent that they fill nearly three-fourths of his work [m]; and ſometimes ſo long, that we forget at the end the ſubject from which they originated [n]. The harangues which he puts in the mouth of the generals at the moment of battle, weary the patience of the reader, as they would have done that of the ſoldiers [o].

His ſtyle, which is more that of the orator than the hiſtorian, has great beauties and great defects [p]. He is too ſolicitous reſpecting the arrangement, and too negligent in the choice, of his words.

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[i] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. iii. p. 116. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3, cap. 18.
[k] Polyb. lib. 16, p. 732.
[l] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 4, p. 77.
[m] Phot. Bibl. p. 393.
[n] Theon. Progymn. p. 34.
[o] Plut. Præcept. Reip. Gerend. t. ii. p. 803.
[p] Quintil. Inſtit. lib. 10, cap. 1, p. 634.

We frequently ſee him torture his periods to give them roundneſs, or prevent the colliſion of vowels[q]; while at other times he diſfigures them by mean expreſſions, and miſplaced ornaments[r].

During the courſe of theſe readings, I had frequent occaſion to remark the contempt in which the Greeks hold diſtant nations, or their ignorance concerning them. Ephorus had miſtaken Iberia * for a city[s]; and this error paſſed unnoticed. I had been informed by a Phœnician merchant who traded to Gadir, that Iberia is an extenſive and populous country. Soon after, Theopompus having mentioned the city of Rome, was requeſted to give ſome particulars relative to that city. It is ſituated in Italy, anſwered he; all I know of it is that it was once taken by a nation of the Gauls[t].

Theſe two authors having retired, that praiſe was beſtowed on them which in ſeveral reſpects they had merited. One of the perſons preſent, who wore the cloak of a philoſopher, exclaimed, in an authoritative tone, Theopompus is the firſt who has cited the human heart to the tribunal of hiſtory. Obſerve with what ſuperiority of diſcernment he penetrates that profound abyſs, and with

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[q] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 786. Quintil. lib. 9, p. 593.
[r] Longin. de Subl. cap. 42. Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. cap. 75.
* Spain.
[s] Joſeph. in App. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 444.
[t] Plin. lib. 3, cap. 5, t. i. p. 152.

what an impetuous eloquence he unfolds to us his fearful diſcoveries. Ever on his guard againſt actions that appear great and noble, he endeavours to detect the ſecrets of vice diſguiſed under the maſk of virtue [w].

I much fear, ſaid I, that one day the poiſon of malignity will be diſcovered in his writings, concealed under the appearances of frankneſs and probity [x]. I cannot endure thoſe moroſe minds who find nothing pure and innocent among men. He who inceſſantly ſuſpects the intentions of others teaches me to diſtruſt his own.

I was anſwered—An ordinary hiſtorian is contented to relate facts, but a philoſophical hiſtorian aſcends to their cauſes. For my part, I deteſt guilt, and wiſh to know the guilty man that I may purſue him with my hatred. But his guilt, ſaid I, ought at leaſt firſt to be proved. Little doubt can be made that he is guilty, replied my opponent, if the crime was to his intereſt. When the ſubject is a man who is devoted to ambition, I ought to diſcern in all his proceedings, not only what he has done, but what he intended to do; and much ſhall I be indebted to the hiſtorian who ſhall reveal to me the odious myſteries of that paſſion. How! ſaid I; ſhall mere preſumptions, which are

[w] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 785.

[x] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 11. Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 450. Joſeph. in Appion. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 459.

not permitted to be alleged in a court of juſtice but in corroboration of ſtronger proofs, ſuffice in hiſtory to ſtigmatize the memory of a man with eternal opprobrium?

Theopompus appeared to be ſufficiently accurate in his relations, but he is only a declaimer when he diſtributes cenſure or praiſe at his pleaſure. Does he treat of a paſſion, it muſt be enormous and atrocious. Does his ſubject lead him to ſpeak of a man againſt whom he is prejudiced [y], he judges of his character by ſome actions, and of the reſt of his life by his character. It would be much to be lamented that ſuch impoſtors ſhould have the reputations of others at their diſpoſal.

It would be much more ſo, anſwered my opponent, with warmth, if it were not permitted to attack reputations unjuſtly acquired. Theopompus reſembles thoſe judges in the ſhades below, who diſtinctly read the hearts of the guilty; or thoſe phyſicians who apply the knife and the cauſtic to the diſeaſed limb, without injury to the ſound parts [z]. He attends not to the ſource of vices till he is certain that it is poiſoned. But why, replied I, does he contradict himſelf? He declares, in the beginning of his work, that he only undertook it to render to Philip the homage due to the greateſt

[y] Lucian. Quom. Hiſt. Conſcrib. t. ii. p. 67.
[z] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 785.

man who has appeared in Europe; and ſoon after repreſents him as the moſt diſſolute, unjuſt, and perfidious of mankind [a]. Should Philip deign to caſt a glance on him, he would ſee him meanly crouch at his feet. As my antagoniſt exclaimed loudly at this charge, I added: Learn then that at this very moment Theopompus is employed in compoſing, in honour of Philip, a panegyric filled with flattery [b]. Whom are we to believe on this head, the hiſtorian or the philoſopher?

Neither, replied Leocrates, a literary friend of Euclid, who, having applied himſelf to the ſtudy of politics and morals, entertained a contempt for hiſtory. Acuſilaus, ſaid he, has been convicted of falſehood by Hellanicus, and the latter by Ephorus, whoſe miſtakes will no doubt hereafter be detected by others. New errors are every day diſcovered in Herodotus, nor is Thucydides himſelf exempt from them [c]. The ignorance and prejudice of writers, and the uncertainty of facts, both in their cauſes and circumſtances, are ſome of the vices which are inherent in this ſpecies of compoſition.

But, on the other hand, replied Euclid, does it not preſent us with great authorities in politics, and great examples in morals? To hiſtory are the

[a] Polyb. Excerpt. p. 21 et 22. Athen. lib. 6, p. 260; lib. 10, p. 439, &c.

[b] Theon. Progymn. p. 15 et 77.

[c] Joſeph. in Appion. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 439.

ſtates of Greece inceſſantly obliged to have recourſe, to aſcertain their reſpective rights, and terminate their differences; in hiſtory each republic finds the titles of its power and its glory; and to the teſtimony of hiſtory our orators inceſſantly recur, to inſtruct us in our true intereſts. As to the ſcience of morals, are all its numerous precepts to be compared with the illuſtrious examples of Ariſtides, Socrates, and Leonidas?

Our authors ſometimes differ, when their ſubject relates to our ancient chronology, or when they ſpeak of foreign nations. With reſpect to theſe articles I am willing to give them up; but ſince our wars with the Perſians, when our hiſtory properly begins, our annals are the precious depoſitary of that experience which each age bequeaths to the ages that ſhall come after it [d]. Peace, war, taxes, and all the different branches of government, are diſcuſſed in our general aſſemblies, and theſe deliberations are preſerved in the public records. The relations of great events are found in all writings, and repeated by every mouth. Our victories and our treaties are engraven on monuments expoſed to every eye. What author would dare to contradict ſuch public and authentic teſtimonies?

You will perhaps allege that our writers ſometimes differ concerning the circumſtances of a fact.

[d] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 22.

But of what importance is it whether at the battle of Salamis the Corinthians behaved well or ill[e]? However this queſtion may be decided, it is not leſs true that at Salamis, at Platæa, and at Thermopylæ, ſome few thouſand Greeks made reſiſtance againſt millions of Perſians; and that then was diſplayed, perhaps for the firſt time, that great and illuſtrious truth, that the love of our country is capable of giving birth to actions which ſeem to be above the powers of human nature.

Hiſtory is a theatre on which politics and morals appear in action. Youth from it receives thoſe firſt impreſſions which ſometimes are deciſive of their future deſtiny. We muſt therefore preſent to them the nobleſt models to follow, and inſpire them with horror for falſe heroiſm. Sovereigns and nations may derive from hiſtory important leſſons: the hiſtorian therefore ſhould be as inflexible as juſtice, of which he is to maintain the rights; and as ſincere as truth, of which he profeſſes himſelf the organ. So auguſt are his functions, that they ought only to be exerciſed by men of acknowledged integrity, and under the inſpection of a tribunal no leſs ſevere than that of the Areopagus. In a word, ſaid Euclid, as he concluded, the utility of hiſtory can only be impaired by thoſe who know not how to write it, nor doubted of but by thoſe who know not how to read it.

[e] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 94. Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 37, p. 456.

CHAP. LXVI.

On the Proper Names in uſe among the Greeks.

PLATO has written a treatiſe in which he has ventured to give ſeveral etymologies of the names of heroes, genii, and gods [f]. In it he has indulged in liberties of which this ſpecies of reſearch is but too ſuſceptible. Encouraged by his example, though leſs adventurous, I ſhall here give ſome remarks on the proper names in uſe among the Greeks. They were accidentally introduced in the two converſations, the ſubſtance of which I have juſt related. Digreſſions of another kind having, at the ſame time, more than once directed our attention to the philoſophy and death of Socrates, I obtained information of ſeveral particulars relative to that philoſopher, of which I ſhall make uſe in the following chapter.

Proper names are diſtinguiſhed into two kinds, ſimple and compound. Among the former there are ſome which derive their origin from certain relations which have been imagined between ſuch

[f] Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 383.

a man and ſuch an animal; as, for example, Leon, *the lion*; Lycos, *the wolf*; Moſchos, *the calf*; Corax, *the raven*; Sauros, *the lizard*; Batrachos, *the frog* [g]; Alectryon, *the cock*, &c. [h] There are alſo ſome which appear to have been derived from the colour of the complexion; as, Argos, *the white*; Melas, *the black*; Xanthos, *the fair*; Pyrrhos, *the red* *.

Sometimes a child receives the name of a divinity with a ſlight inflexion. Thus Apollonios is derived from Apollo; Poſeidonios from Poſeidon, or Neptune; Demetrios from Demeter, or Ceres; Athenæus from Athene, or Minerva.

The compound names are more numerous than the ſimple. If parents believe they have, by their prayers, obtained the birth of a ſon who is the hope of their family, they add to the name of the protecting divinity, ſlightly changed, the word *doron*, or gift. And hence the names Theodorus, Diodorus, Olympiodorus, Hypatodorus, Herodorus, Athenodorus, Hephæſtiodorus, Heliodorus, Aſclepiodorus, Cephiſodorus, &c. that is to ſay, the gift of the gods, of Jupiter, of the god of Olympus, of the Moſt High, of Juno, of Minerva, of

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g Plin. lib. 36, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 731.

h Homer. Iliad. lib. 17, v. 602.

* Argos is the ſame as Argus, Pyrrhos as Pyrrhus; the Latins having terminated in *us* the proper names which among the Greeks ended in *os*.

Mercury, of Vulcan, of the Sun, of Æſculapius, of the river Cephiſus, &c.

Some families pretend to be deſcended from the gods; and hence the names Theogenes, or Theagenes, *born of the gods*; Diogenes, *born of Jupiter*; Hermogenes, *born of Mercury*, &c.

It is an obſervation deſerving attention, that the greater part of names found in Homer are marks of diſtinction. They were given in honour of the qualities moſt eſteemed in the heroic ages, as valour, ſtrength, ſwiftneſs, prudence, and other virtues. From the word *polemos*, which ſignifies war, have been formed, Tlepolemus [i], that is, *able to ſupport the labours of war* [k]; and Archeptolemus [l], or *able to direct the labours of war*.

By adding to the word *mache*, or battle, certain prepoſitions, and different parts of ſpeech, which may modify the ſenſe in a manner always honourable, are compoſed the names Amphimachus, Antimachus, Promachus, Telemachus. Proceeding in the ſame manner with the word *henorea*, ſtrength, or intrepidity, we have Agapenor, *he who eſteems valour* [m]; Agenor, *he who directs it*; Prothoenor, *the firſt for courage* [n]: and a number of others, as Alegenor, Antenor, Elephenor, Euchenor, Peſenor,

[i] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2, v. 657.
[k] Etymol. Magn. in Τλή.
[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 8, v. 128.
[m] Id. lib. 2, v. 609. Schol. in lib. 8, v. 114.
[n] Schol. Hom. in Iliad. lib. 2, v. 495.

Hypſenor, Hyperenor, &c. From the word *damao*, I tame, or conquer, are formed Damaſtor, Amphidamas, Cherſidamas, Iphidamas, Polydamas, &c.

From *thoos*, ſwift, are derived the names Areithoos, Alcathoos, Panthoos, Pirithoos, &c. From *noos*, mind or intelligence, Aſtynoos, Arſinoos, Autonoos, Iphinoos, &c. From *medos*, counſel, Agamedes, Eumedes, Lycomedes, Perimedes, Thraſymedes. From *cleos*, glory, Amphicles, Agacles, Bathycles, Doriclos, Echeclos, Iphiclos, Patroclus, Cleobulus, &c.

It hence follows that ſeveral individuals had then two names[o]; that which their parents had given them, and that which they had merited by their actions; but the latter ſoon cauſed the former to be forgotten.

The titles of honour which I have mentioned, and many others that I omit, as Ormenos[p], *the impetuous*, Aſteropeos [q], *the thunderer*, were tranſmitted to the children, to remind them of and incite them to imitate the great actions of their fathers [r].

Theſe names ſtill ſubſiſt; and, as they have paſſed into the different claſſes of citizens, they impoſe no obligation; there ſometimes even reſults a ſin-

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[o] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 1, t. i. p. 124. Id. in lib. 2, p. 351.
[p] Homer. Iliad. lib. 8, v. 274.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 17, v. 217.
[r] Euſtath. in Iliad. t. ii. p. 650, lin. 35. Schol. Hom. in lib. 2, v. 495.

gular contraſt between their ſignifications and the condition or character of thoſe who have received them in their infancy.

A Perſian, who founded all his merit on the luſtre of his name, came to Athens; I had been acquainted with him at Suſa, and took him with me into the forum. We took our ſeats near ſeveral Athenians who were engaged in converſation. He aſked me their names, and requeſted me to explain their meaning to him. The firſt, ſaid I, is called Eudoxus, that is to ſay, *illuſtrious* or *honourable*. Immediately my friend the Perſian made a profound reverence to Eudoxus. The ſecond, continued I, is named Polycletus, which ſignifies *very celebrated*—another reverence ſtill more profound. No doubt, ſaid he to me, theſe two excellent perſons are at the head of the republic. No ſuch thing, replied I; they are of the lower claſs of people, and ſcarcely known. The third, who ſeems ſo weak, is called Agaſthenes, or perhaps Megaſthenes, *the ſtrong*, or rather *very ſtrong*. The fourth, who is ſo corpulent and unwieldy, is named Prothoos, a word which ſignifies *light of foot, he who paſſes others in the race*. The fifth, who appears ſo gloomy and melancholy, is named Epichares, *the cheerful*. And the ſixth? ſaid the Perſian impatiently.—The ſixth is Soſtratus, or *the ſaviour of the army*.—He has then had the command of troops?—No, he has never ſerved. The ſeventh,

who is called Clitomachus, *illuſtrious warrior*, has conſtantly fled at the approach of the enemy, and has been branded with infamy. The eighth is named Dicæus [s], *the juſt*.—Indeed!—Indeed he is the moſt notorious knave exiſting. The name of the ninth is Evelthon, or *the welcome* [t].—My friend now abruptly riſing, ſaid to me, Theſe people diſhonour their names. But at leaſt, replied I, it muſt be confeſſed that their names do not inſpire them with vanity.

We find ſcarcely any degrading names in Homer. They are much more common at preſent, but conſiderably leſs ſo than might be expected among a people who are ſo ready to perceive and remark any kind of ridiculouſneſs or defect.

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[s] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 65. Marmor. Nointel.
[t] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 162.

CHAP. LXVII.

Socrates.

SOCRATES was the ſon of a ſculptor named Sophroniſcus [w]. He quitted the occupation of his father, after having followed it ſome time [x]. His mother Phenarete exerciſed the profeſſion of a midwife [y].

Thoſe beautiful proportions and elegant forms which the marble receives from the chiſel, ſuggeſted to him the firſt idea of perfection: and, this idea gradually becoming more exalted, he was convinced that throughout the univerſe a general harmony between all its parts ought to prevail; and in man a juſt relation between his actions and his duties.

To expand theſe firſt conceptions, he exerted in every kind of ſtudy the ardour and inflexible pertinacity of a powerful mind, eager to obtain inſtruction. The examination of nature [z], the accu-

[w] Plat. in Alcib. 1, t. ii. p. 131. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 18.
[x] Diog. Laert. ibid. § 19. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 22, p. 53; lib. 9, cap. 35, p. 782. Suid. in Σωκράτ.
[y] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 149.
[z] Id. in Phædon. t. i. p. 96.

rate ſciences[a], and the agreeable arts, by turns engaged his attention.

He lived at a time when the human mind ſeemed every day to diſcover new ſources of knowledge. Two claſſes of men had undertaken the care of collecting and diffuſing ſcience: the philoſophers, the greater part of whom paſſed their lives in meditating on the formation of the univerſe, and the eſſence of beings; and the ſophiſts, who, poſſeſſed of a few ſuperficial notions and an oſtentatious eloquence, amuſed their hearers with diſcourſes on every ſubject of morals and politics, without elucidating any.

Socrates frequented the converſation and harangues of both[b]; he admired their talents, and derived information from their errors. During his attendance on the former, he perceived that the farther he advanced the more the darkneſs thickened around him; and was convinced that Nature, who ſo readily grants us the knowledge really neceſſary to us, requires that which is of leſs utility to be extorted from her, and rigorouſly denies that which would only tend to ſatisfy a reſtleſs curioſity. Thus, judging of the importance of the different kinds of ſcience by the degree of evidence or obſcurity with which they are accompanied, he determined to renounce the ſtudy of

[a] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 814.
[b] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 96. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 19.

firſt cauſes, and to reject thoſe abſtract theories which ſerve only to torment or miſlead the mind [c].

If he conſidered the meditations of the philoſophers as uſeleſs, the ſophiſts appeared to him much more dangerous; ſince, by defending at pleaſure every opinion without adopting any, they introduced the licentiouſneſs of doubt into the truths moſt eſſential to the tranquillity of ſociety.

From his ineffectual reſearches he concluded that the only knowledge neceſſary to men is that of their duties, and the only occupation worthy of a philoſopher that of inſtructing mankind in theſe duties; and, ſubjecting to the examination of reaſon the relations which exiſt between us, and the gods, and our fellow-creatures, he confined himſelf to that ſimple theology which numerous nations had peaceably followed during a long courſe of ages.

The Supreme Wiſdom preſerves the univerſe which it has formed in an eternal youth [d]; and, though inviſible in itſelf, is reſplendently manifeſted in the wonders it operates. The gods extend their providence over all nature; and, preſent in every place, ſee and hear all things [e]. Among the infinite number of beings which are the work of their hands, man, diſtinguiſhed from other ani-

[c] Xenoph. Mem. lib. 1, p. 710; lib. 4, p. 815. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 21.
[d] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 8, p. 237. Id. Memor. lib. 4, p. 802.
[e] Id. Memor. lib. 1, p. 711 et 728.

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mals by eminent qualities, and eſpecially by an underſtanding capable of conceiving the idea of the Deity, man was ever the object of their love and predilection[f]. They ſpeak to him inceſſantly by thoſe ſovereign laws which they have engraven on his heart—"Adore the gods; honour your parents; do good to thoſe who do good to you[g]." They ſpeak to him likewiſe by their oracles, diſtributed over the earth, and by a multitude of prodigies and preſages which are indications of their will[h].

Let us no longer, then, complain of their ſilence, nor allege that they are too exalted to ſtoop to our feebleneſs[i]. If their power raiſes them above us, their goodneſs brings them nearer to us. But what do they require? The worſhip eſtabliſhed in each country[k]; prayers which ſhall be confined to ſolicit, in general, their protection; and ſacrifices in which the purity of the heart is more eſſential than the magnificence of the offerings[l]. They require ſtill more, that we ſhould honour and obey them; and to be uſeful to ſociety is to obey them[m]. The ſtateſman whoſe object is the good of the people, the labourer who renders

[f] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 727; lib. 4, p. 800 et 802. Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 62.
[g] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 807 et 808.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 1, p. 708 et 709; lib. 4, p. 802.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 1, p. 728.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 4, p. 803.
[l] Id. ibid. lib. 1, p. 722.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 4, p. 803.

the earth more fertile, and all thoſe who, from a deſire to pleaſe the gods, faithfully diſcharge their duties, render to the divine beings the moſt noble worſhip[n]; but this muſt be continual, for their favours are only the reward of fervent piety, accompanied with hope and confidence[o]. Let us undertake nothing without conſulting them; let us do nothing contrary to their commands[p]; and let us ever bear in mind that the preſence of the gods enlightens and fills the moſt obſcure and the moſt ſolitary places[q].

Socrates never explained his opinion on the nature of the Deity, but he always clearly expreſſed it on his exiſtence and providence; truths of which he was intimately convinced, and the only ones to which it was poſſible and of importance to attain. He acknowledged one God, the creator and preſerver of the univerſe[r]; and under him inferior deities, formed by his hands, inveſted with a portion of his authority, and worthy of our veneration. Penetrated with the moſt awful reſpect for the Sovereign Being, he every where proſtrated himſelf before him; and every where honoured the ſubordinate divinities, by whatever name they

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[n] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3, p. 780.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 4, p. 803.
[p] Id. ibid. lib. 1, p. 709.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 1, p. 728.
[r] Cudw. Syſt. Intellect. cap. 4, § 23. Bruck. Hiſtor. Philoſ. t. i. p. 560, &c.

were invoked, provided no human frailties were attributed to them, and their worſhip was free from ſuperſtitions, by which it muſt be disfigured. Ceremonies might vary among different nations; but they ought all to be authorized by the laws, and to be accompanied by purity of intention [s].

He did not enquire into the origin of the evil which prevails in the moral as well as in the natural world: but he was acquainted with the good and evil which are the cauſes of the happineſs and unhappineſs of man; and on this knowledge he founded his ſyſtem of morality.

The true good is permanent and unalterable; it fills without fatiguing the ſoul, and inſpires it with profound tranquillity for the preſent, and abſolute ſecurity for the future. It conſiſts not, therefore, in the enjoyment of pleaſures, power, health, riches, and honours; theſe advantages, and all thoſe which moſt excite our deſires, are not good in themſelves, ſince they may be profitable or hurtful according to the uſe which is made of them [t], or the effects which they naturally produce: ſome of them are accompanied by torments, and others followed by diſguſt and remorſe; all are deſtroyed as ſoon as they are abuſed, and we ceaſe to enjoy when we fear to loſe them.

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[s] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 803.

[t] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 88. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3, p. 777; lib. 4, p. 798.

Our ideas of the evils which we dread are not more juſt: there are ſome of them, as diſgrace, ſickneſs, and poverty, which, notwithſtanding the terror they inſpire, ſometimes bring with them more real advantages than honours, riches, and health [w].

Thus, placed amid objects of the nature of which we are ignorant, our fluctuating and uncertain minds can only diſcern, by a dim light, what is good or evil, juſt or unjuſt, honourable or diſgraceful [x]; and as all our actions are the effect of choice, and as this choice is the more blind the more it is important, we are inceſſantly in danger of falling into the ſnares by which we are ſurrounded. Hence ſo many contradictions in our conduct, ſuch inſtability in our virtues, and ſo many ſyſtems of happineſs which prove to be without foundation.

Yet have the gods granted us a guide to conduct us through theſe uncertain paths. This guide is wiſdom; which is the greateſt good, as ignorance is the greateſt evil [y]. Wiſdom is enlightened reaſon [z], which, diveſting the objects of our hopes and fears of their falſe colours, ſhews them to us ſuch as they are in themſelves, fixes our unſettled judgments, and determines our will by the ſole force of evidence.

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[w] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 798 et 799.
[x] Plat. in Alcib. 1, t. i. p. 117. Id. in Protag. t. i. p. 357.
[y] Id. in Euthyd. t. i. p. 281. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 31.
[z] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 812.

The man who is guided by this reſplendent and pure light is juſt, becauſe he is convinced that it is his intereſt to obey the laws, and to do no injury to any one [a]; he is frugal and temperate, becauſe he clearly perceives that exceſſive indulgence in pleaſure is followed by the loſs of health, reputation, and fortune [b]; he poſſeſſes true courage, becauſe he knows danger, and the neceſſity of braving it [c]. His other virtues flow from the ſame principle, or rather they are only wiſdom applied to the different circumſtances of life [d].

It hence follows that all virtue is a ſcience which is extended by exerciſe and meditation [e]; and all vice an error which, from its nature, muſt produce all other vices [f].

This principle, ſtill diſputed among the philoſophers, found opponents in the time of Socrates. It was objected that we ought to complain of our weakneſs, and not of our ignorance; and that if we commit evil it is not for want of knowing it to be ſuch [g]. You know it not, anſwered he; you would carefully ſhun it if you conſidered it as evil [h]: but

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[a] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 803, 805, 806.
[b] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 353.
[c] Xenoph. ibid. p. 812.
[d] Id. lib. 3, p. 778; lib. 4, p. 812.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 2, p. 754. Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 6, cap. 13, t. ii. p. 82. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 145.
[f] Plat. in Euthydem. t. i. p. 281. Id. in Protag. p. 357.
[g] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 352.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 358. Id. in Men. t. ii. p. 77.

you prefer it to good, becauſe it appears to you a ſtill greater good.

It was replied: We condemn this preference which we give to it, both before and after we are betrayed into it[i]; but there are moments in which the allurements of pleaſure induce us to forget our principles, and ſhut our eyes to the conſequences[k]. In fact, after all, how is it poſſible that we ſhould vanquiſh thoſe paſſions which enſlave us in deſpite of ourſelves?

If you are ſlaves, replied Socrates, you ought no longer to imagine yourſelves virtuous, or, by conſequence, to expect happineſs. Wiſdom, which can alone beſtow the latter, makes her voice be heard only by men who are free, or who labour to become ſo[l]. To reſtore to you your liberty, ſhe requires the ſacrifice of thoſe wants which were not given to you by nature. In proportion as you ſhall delight in and meditate on her leſſons, you ſhall with eaſe ſhake off every yoke which can diſturb or obſcure the mind; for it is not the tyranny of the paſſions which is to be feared, but that of ignorance, which delivers you into their hands by exaggerating their power: deſtroy the empire of the latter, and you will ſee thoſe illuſions which dazzle you, and thoſe confuſed and

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[i] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 7, cap. 3, t. ii. p. 86.
[k] Plat. in Protag. p. 352 et 356.
[l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 808.

unſtable opinions which you have miſtaken for principles, inſtantly diſappear. Then ſhall the ſplendour and beauty of virtue make ſuch an impreſſion on our ſouls, that they ſhall no longer be able to reſiſt the ſovereign charm by which they are attracted; then may it indeed be ſaid that we have it not in our power to be wicked [m], becauſe it will no longer be poſſible that we ſhould prefer evil to good, nor even a ſmaller advantage to a greater [n].

Intimately convinced of this doctrine, Socrates conceived the extraordinary and noble deſign of diſſipating, if it were not too late, the errors and prejudices which are the unhappineſs and diſgrace of human nature. A ſimple individual, without rank, authority, or any intereſted view, was ſeen to undertake the dangerous and difficult taſk of inſtructing mankind, and conducting them by virtue to truth; he was ſeen to dedicate every moment of his life to this glorious miniſtry, to diſcharge it with all the zeal and moderation which an enlightened love of the public good inſpires, and to ſupport, as much as was in his power, the declining authority of the laws and of manners.

Socrates never ſought to take a part in the adminiſtration of public affairs. By forming good

[m] Ariſtot. Magn. Mor. lib. 1, t. ii. cap. 9, p. 153.
[n] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 358. Id. in Men. p. 77.

citizens, ſaid he, I more effectually render to my country the ſervice which I owe to it [o].

As he wiſhed not to make public his plans of reform, nor to precipitate their execution, he compoſed no works, nor did he affect to collect his hearers round him at ſtated times [p]. But in the ſquares and public walks, in ſelect companies, and among the lower ranks of people [q], he took advantage of the leaſt opportunity to inſtruct in their true intereſts the magiſtrate, the artiſan, and the labourer; in a word, all his brethren, for in this light he viewed all mankind [r]*. The converſation at firſt only turned on indifferent things; but by degrees, and without their perceiving it, he induced them to give him an account of their conduct; and the greater part learned with ſurpriſe that, in each condition, happineſs conſiſts in being a good parent, a good friend, and a good citizen [s].

Socrates did not flatter himſelf that his doctrines would be approved by the Athenians while the Peloponneſian war agitated all minds, and was the cauſe of the moſt extreme licentiouſneſs; but he

[o] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 732.
[p] Plut. An. Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 796.
[q] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 709. Plat. in Apol. t. i. p. 17.
[r] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 600. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 5, cap. 37, t. ii. p. 392.
* Socrates ſaid, I am a citizen of the world (Cicer. ibid); Ariſtippus, I am a ſtranger every where (Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2, p. 736): theſe two expreſſions ſuffice to characteriſe the maſter and the diſciple.
[s] Plat. in Lach. t. ii. p. 187.

preſumed that their children, more docile, would tranſmit them to the ſucceeding generation.

Theſe he attracted to himſelf by the charms of his converſation, and ſometimes by becoming a companion in their pleaſures, without participating in their exceſſes. One of theſe youths, after having heard him diſcourſe, exclaimed—"Socrates, I am poor, but I give myſelf to you without reſerve."—"You know not," anſwered Socrates, "what a noble preſent you have made me[t]." His firſt care was to diſcover their true character. He aſſiſted them by his queſtions to explain their own ideas, and compelled them by his anſwers to reject them. More accurate definitions gradually diſpelled the falſe light they had received in their earlier education, and doubts acutely ſtarted redoubled their inquietude and curioſity[u]; for his art conſiſted in always bringing them to that point at which they could neither endure their ignorance nor their weakneſs.

Many, being unable to undergo this trial, and bluſhing at their ſituation, without having the fortitude to extricate themſelves from it, forſook Socrates, who was not eager to recal them[x]. Others learned from their humiliation to diſtruſt themſelves, and from that inſtant he ceaſed to ſpread

[t] Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 34.
[u] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 795.
[x] Id, ibid. p. 799.

ſnares for their vanity [y]: he ſpoke to them neither with the ſeverity of a cenſor, nor the haughtineſs of a ſophiſt; he dealt not in harſh reproaches or importunate complaints; his diſcourſe was the language of reaſon and friendſhip, in the mouth of virtue.

He laboured to form their minds, becauſe each precept ought to have its principle; and exerciſed them in dialectics, that they might be enabled to combat againſt the ſophiſms of pleaſure and the paſſions [z].

Never was any man leſs ſuſceptible of jealouſy. If his diſciples wiſhed to obtain a ſlight tincture of the ſciences, he directed them to maſters whom he believed more capable to inſtruct them than himſelf [a]; or, if they deſired to frequent other ſchools, furniſhed them with recommendations to the philoſophers to whom they gave the preference [b].

His leſſons were only familiar converſations, the ſubject of which was ſuggeſted by the circumſtances of the moment. Sometimes he read to his ſcholars the writings of the ſages who had preceded him [c]. He repeatedly read them, becauſe he knew that to perſevere in the love of virtue it is often

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[y] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 800.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 810.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 814.
[b] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 151. Epict. Enchir. cap. 46. Arrian. in Epict. lib. 3, cap. 5. Simpl. in Epict. p. 311.
[c] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 731.

neceſſary to be convinced anew of thoſe truths of which we have before been perſuaded. Sometimes he diſcuſſed the nature of juſtice, knowledge, and the true good[d]; then would he exclaim—"Deteſted be the memory of him who firſt dared to make a diſtinction between what is juſt and what is uſeful[e]."—At other times he pointed out to them more at length the relations that connect men with each other, and thoſe between them and the objects by which they are ſurrounded[f]. Submiſſion to the will of parents, however rigid they may be; and ſtill more implicit ſubmiſſion to the commands of our country, however ſevere[g]; equality of mind in adverſity and proſperity[h]; the obligation men are under to render themſelves uſeful to other men, and the neceſſity that they ſhould continually be in a ſtate of warfare againſt their own paſſions, and in a ſtate of peace towards the paſſions of others; theſe were the points of doctrine which Socrates explained with equal perſpicuity and preciſion.

Hence his diſcourſes contained the elucidation of a multitude of ideas novel to his hearers, and abounded with maxims ſimilar to the following, taken at random from among many others which

[d] Xenoph. Memor. Plat. paſſim.
[e] Cic. de Leg. lib. 1, cap. 12, t. iii. p. 126. Id. de Offic. lib. 3, cap. 3, p. 259.
[f] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 794.
[g] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 51. Id. in Protag. p. 346. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2, p. 741.
[h] Stob. Serm. 147, p. 234.

are ſtill remembered; ſuch as that the fewer our wants the nearer we approach to the divine nature [i]; that idleneſs degrades, and not labour [k]; that a look of complacence on beauty introduces a mortal poiſon into the heart [l]; that the glory of the ſage conſiſts in being virtuous without affecting to appear ſo, and his pleaſure in becoming ſtill more virtuous from day to day [m]; that it is better to die with honour than to live in ignominy; that we ought never to render evil for evil [n]; and, to conclude with one of thoſe alarming truths on which he moſt frequently inſiſted, that it is the greateſt of impoſtures to pretend to govern and conduct men without poſſeſſing the requiſite abilities [o].

And, in fact, how was it poſſible that the preſumption of ignorance ſhould not have diſguſted him who, after all his labours, and the knowledge to which he had attained, believed he had ſcarcely acquired the right of confeſſing that he knew nothing [p]—he who beheld in the ſtate the moſt important places obtained by intrigue, and confided to perſons without knowledge or probity; in ſociety and private families every principle obſcured, and every duty miſunderſtood; and, among the youth

[i] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 731.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 720.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 724.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 730 et 732.
[n] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 49.
[o] Xenoph. ibid. p. 732.
[p] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 21. Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 157.

of Athens, haughty and frivolous minds, whoſe arrogant claims knew no bounds, and whoſe incapacity equalled their pride?

Socrates, ever attentive to deſtroy the high opinion which the latter entertained of themſelves [q], read in the heart of Alcibiades the deſire of being ſoon at the head of the republic, and in that of Critias the ambition one day to ſubject it. Both, diſtinguiſhed by their birth and riches, ſought to obtain knowledge, that they might afterwards make an oſtentatious diſplay of it before the people [r]. But the former was the moſt dangerous, becauſe he joined to theſe advantages the moſt amiable qualities. Socrates, after having obtained his confidence, forced him to confeſs, with tears, ſometimes his ignorance, and ſometimes his vanity; and in this confuſion of ſentiments the diſciple declared that he could neither be happy with ſuch a maſter, nor without ſuch a friend. To avoid the force of his arguments, Alcibiades and Critias at length determined to ſhun his preſence [s].

Succeſs leſs ſplendid but more durable, though it could not conſole him for this loſs, recompenſed his labours. To diſſuade from engaging in public employments ſuch of his diſciples as had not yet acquired ſufficient experience to diſcharge them

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[q] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 791.
[r] Id. ibid. lib. 1, p. 713.
[s] Id. ibid. Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 215 et 216.

properly [t], and to induce others who declined them from indifference or modeſty to accept them [u]; to reconcile his pupils and his friends when diviſions had taken place among them [x]; to reſtore tranquillity to their families, and order to their affairs [y]; to render them more religious, more juſt, and more temperate [z]—ſuch were the effects of that mild perſuaſion which he inſtilled into the minds [a] of all who converſed with him; and ſuch the pleaſures which tranſported his beneficent heart.

Theſe ſalutary effects were however leſs to be aſcribed to his leſſons than to his example [b]. The following obſervations will ſhew that it was difficult for any one to frequent his company without becoming better [c]. Though born with the ſtrongeſt inclination to vice, his whole life was the moſt exemplary model of virtue. It was with difficulty that he obtained the victory over the violence of his diſpoſition, whether becauſe this defect is the moſt difficult to correct, or becauſe it is that which we moſt eaſily excuſe, in ourſelves. But at length his patience became invincible. The ill-temper of Xanthippe his wife could not diſturb the tran-

[t] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3, p. 772.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 774. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 29.
[x] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 2, p. 743.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 741 et 755.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 1, p. 711; lib. 4, p. 803 et 808.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 713; lib. 4, p. 814. Lucian. in Damonact. t. ii. p. 379.
[b] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 712.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 1, p. 721.

quillity of his mind [d] nor the ſerenity of his brow [e]. He lifted his hand to ſtrike his ſlave—"Ah!" ſaid he, "if I were not angry!" and did not ſtrike him [f]. He had requeſted his friends to tell him when they perceived any alteration in his countenance or voice [g].

Though he was very poor he received no ſalary for his inſtructions [h], and never accepted the offers of his diſciples. Some rich individuals of Greece wiſhed to prevail on him to live with them [i], but he refuſed; and when Archelaus king of Macedon offered him an eſtabliſhment at his court, he refuſed him likewiſe, alleging that it was not in his power to return benefit for benefit [k].

He was not however negligent of his external appearance, though this bore the marks of the mediocrity of his fortune. His cleanlineſs reſulted from thoſe ideas of order and decency which governed all his actions; and the care which he took of his health, from his deſire to preſerve his mind free and tranquil [l].

In thoſe repaſts in which pleaſure ſometimes

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[d] Xenoph. in Conviv. p. 876. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 36.
[e] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1, cap. 26, t. iii. p. 203. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9, cap. 7.
[f] Senec. de Ira, lib. 1, cap. 15.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 13.
[h] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 712 et 729. Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 19. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 27.
[i] Id. ibid. § 25.
[k] Senec. de Benef. lib. 5, cap. 6. Diog. Laert. ibid.
[l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 712. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 22.

proceeds to licentiouſneſs, his friends admired his frugality [m], and in his conduct his enemies revered the purity of his manners [n].

He made ſeveral campaigns, in all of which he gave noble examples of courage and obedience. He had long hardened himſelf againſt all the wants of nature, and the inclemency of the ſeaſons [o]; and, at the ſiege of Potidæa, when the ſevere cold kept the troops under their tents, he, without taking any precaution, ſtill appeared in the ſame dreſs which he wore at every other time, and was ſeen to walk bare-footed on the ice [p]. The ſoldiers imagined that he intended to inſult their effeminacy, but he would have done the ſame had no perſon ſeen him.

At the ſame ſiege, during a ſally which the garriſon made, having found Alcibiades covered with wounds, he ſnatched him from the hands of the enemy; and ſome time after procured the prize of bravery to be decreed to him, which he had himſelf merited [q].

At the battle of Delium he was among the laſt who retired, by the ſide of the general, whom he aſſiſted with his advice, marching ſlowly, and

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[m] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 723. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 27.
[n] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 724.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 711 et 729.
[p] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 220.
[q] Id. ibid. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 194. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 23.

fighting as he retreated; till perceiving the youth Xenophon, exhauſted with fatigue, and thrown from his horſe, he took him on his ſhoulders, and conveyed him to a place of ſafety [r]. Laches, his general, afterwards declared, that victory muſt have been certain if every ſoldier had behaved like Socrates [s].

This courage did not forſake him on occaſions perhaps ſtill more perilous. Having been raiſed by lot to the rank of ſenator, he preſided, in virtue of his office, with ſome other members of the ſenate in the aſſembly of the people. The buſineſs before them was an accuſation againſt ſome generals who had gained a ſignal victory. A ſentence was propoſed no leſs defective from its irregularity than oppreſſive of innocence. The multitude kindled into a rage at the leaſt contradiction, and demanded that all who oppoſed the proceedings ſhould be placed among the number of the accuſed. The other preſidents were intimidated, and gave their approbation to the decree. Socrates alone, intrepid in the midſt of clamours and menaces, proteſted that, having taken an oath to judge conformably to the laws, nothing ſhould induce him to violate it, nor did he violate it [t].

[r] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 221. Strab. lib. 9, p. 403. Diog. Laert. in Socrat. § 22.

[s] Plat. in Lach. t. ii. p. 181.

[t] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. t. i. lib. 1, p. 449. Id. Memor. lib. 1, p. 711; lib. 4, p. 803.

Socrates frequently jeſted on the reſemblance of his features to thoſe which were attributed to the god Silenus [u]. He had a pleaſing and lively wit, equal ſtrength and ſolidity of character, and a peculiar talent for rendering the truth manifeſt and intereſting. His diſcourſe was without ornament, but frequently poſſeſſed elevation, and always preciſion in the terms, and connection and propriety of ideas. He affirmed that he had received leſſons in rhetoric from Aſpaſia [x], by which he no doubt meaned that he had learned from her to expreſs himſelf more gracefully. He was intimately acquainted with that celebrated woman, and with Pericles, Euripides, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed men of his age: but his diſciples were always his real friends; by them he was adored [y]: and I have ſeen ſome of them who, long after his death, manifeſted the tendereſt emotions whenever they recalled him to mind.

In his converſations with his pupils and friends he frequently ſpoke of a genius which had attended him from his infancy [z], and whoſe inſpirations never urged him to any undertaking, but frequently reſtrained him when on the point of executing his

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[u] Plat. in Conviv. p. 883. Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 143. Id. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 215.

[x] Plat. in Menex. t. ii. p. 235.

[y] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 731; lib. 2, p. 746 et 752; lib. 4, p. 817. Lucian. in Damonact. t. ii. p. 379.

[z] Plat. in Theag. t. i. p. 128.

intention[a]. If he consulted his monitor concerning any project, the issue of which would have proved unfortunate, he heard a secret voice; but if the event were to be prosperous, the genius was silent. One of his disciples, astonished at a language so unusual, pressed him to explain more clearly the nature of this divine voice; but he received no answer[b]. Another made enquiry concerning the same subject at the oracle of Trophonius; but his curiosity was not better satisfied[c]. Would Socrates have left their doubts unresolved, had he meaned nothing more by his genius than that consummate prudence which was the result of his experience? Did he wish to lead them into error, and gain their admiration and reverence by exhibiting himself to them as an inspired man? No, answered Xenophon, to whom I one day proposed these questions. Socrates never disguised the truth; he was totally incapable of such deceit; he was neither so vain nor so simple as to give mere conjectures for true predictions; he was himself persuaded; and when he spoke to us in the name of his genius, it was because he internally felt its secret influence[d].

Another disciple of Socrates, named Simmias,

[a] Plat. in Theag. t. i. p. 128. Id. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 242. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1, cap. 54, t. iii. p. 45.
[b] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 588.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 590.
[d] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 708.

with whom I was acquainted at Thebes, affirmed that his maſter, convinced that the gods do not render themſelves viſible to mortals, diſregarded all the ſtories that were told him of apparitions; but that he liſtened to, and queſtioned with the moſt ſerious attention, thoſe who imagined they had heard within them the accents of a divine voice [e].

If to theſe expreſs teſtimonies we add that Socrates, to the day of his death, declared that the gods had ſometimes deigned to communicate to him a portion of their preſcience [f]; that he, as well as his diſciples, related many of his predictions which had been verified by the event [g]; that ſome of theſe were much ſpoken of at Athens, and that he never attempted to contradict the reports that were current concerning them [h]; we ſhall no longer be able to doubt that he wiſhed to be underſtood in the literal and expreſs meaning of his words, when, ſpeaking of his genius, he aſſerted that he had felt within him what perhaps no other perſon had ever experienced [i].

By examining his principles and his conduct, we may perceive by what ſteps he arrived at a be-

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[e] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 588.
[f] Plut. Apol. t. i. p. 31. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 32.
[g] Xenoph. Apol. p. 703. Plut. de Gen. Socr. p. 581. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8, cap. 1.
[h] Plut. ibid.
[i] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 496.

lief that he had attained to ſuch a privilege. Attached to the prevailing religion of his time, he thought, conformably to the ancient traditions adopted by the philoſophers [k], that the gods, commiſerating the wants, and moved by the prayers of the virtuous man, on certain occaſions, by various ſigns, made known to him future events [l]. In conſequence of this idea he ſometimes exhorted his diſciples to conſult the oracles, and ſometimes to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of divination [m]; while he himſelf, adopting the prevalent opinion of his age [n], attentively obſerved his dreams, and obeyed them as the immediate notices of heaven [o]. Nor was this all: frequently he continued whole hours abſorbed in meditation; during which time, his mind, diſengaged from the ſenſes, was elevated imperceptibly to the ſource of duties and of virtues. But it is difficult to continue a long time, as it were, beneath the eye of the Divinity, without venturing to interrogate him, liſtening to his anſwers, and becoming familiar with thoſe illuſions which a violent agitation of mind frequently produces. Ought we then to be ſurpriſed if Socrates ſometimes miſtook his pre-ſentiments for divine

[k] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1, cap. 3 et 43.
[l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 723.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 4, p. 815.
[n] Ariſtot. de Divin. cap. 1, t. i. p. 697.
[o] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 44. Id. in Phædon. p. 61. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1, cap. 25, t. iii. p. 22.

inſpirations, and aſcribed to a preternatural cauſe the effects of prudence or of chance?

Nevertheleſs we find, in the hiſtory of his life, facts which might lead us to ſuſpect the integrity of his intentions. What indeed can we think of a man who, when followed by his diſciples, ſuddenly ſtops, remains long abſorbed in thought, hears the voice of his genius, and adviſes to take another road, though no real danger threatens them ſhould they continue in that in which they are [p] *?

I ſhall adduce a ſecond example. At the ſiege of Potidæa he was ſeen, from the dawn of day, ſtanding without his tent, motionleſs, wrapped in profound meditation, and expoſed to the burning rays of the ſun; for it was in ſummer. The ſoldiers gathered round him, and ſhewed him to each other with admiration. In the evening, ſome of them determined to watch him all night. He continued in the ſame poſture till the following day, when he rendered his homage to the ſun, and quietly retired to his tent [q].

Did he mean to exhibit himſelf to be gazed upon by the army? Was it poſſible that his mind

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[p] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 580.

* Some of his diſciples continued their way, notwithſtanding the advice of the genius, and met a drove of pigs which covered them with mud. This ſtory is related in Plutarch by Theocritus, a diſciple of Socrates; who refers to Simmias, another diſciple of Socrates, as a witneſs.

[q] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 220. Phavor. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 2, cap. 1. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 23.

ſhould, during ſo long a time, inveſtigate and follow the connection of a chain of truths? or have his diſciples, in tranſmitting to us theſe facts, miſſtated the circumſtances? We ſeem compelled to admit that the conduct of the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous men ſometimes preſents us with impenetrable obſcurities.

However this may be, notwithſtanding the predictions which were attributed to Socrates, the Athenians never entertained for him that reſpect which on ſo many accounts he merited: his manner muſt neceſſarily give them offence. Some could not pardon him the diſguſt they conceived at a diſcuſſion which they were unable to follow, nor others his having extorted from them a confeſſion of their ignorance.

As he inculcated that the reſearch after truth ſhould be begun by heſitation, and the diſtruſt of the knowledge we might ſeem to have acquired; and as, to wean his young pupils from the falſe ideas they had received, he led them gradually from conſequence to conſequence, till he compelled them to confeſs that, according to their principles, wiſdom itſelf might become hurtful; the by-ſtanders, who were unable to perceive his views, accuſed him of plunging his diſciples into doubts, maintaining either ſide of a queſtion, and overturning every ſyſtem, but erecting none [r].

[r] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 80 et 84. Xenoph. Mem. lib. 4, p. 805.

As, when he chanced to be in company with thoſe by whom he was unknown, he affected to know nothing, and diſſembled his ſtrength that he might afterwards employ it with more ſucceſs; it was ſaid that, by an inſulting irony, he ſought only to ſpread ſnares for the ſimplicity of others [s] *.

As the youth of Athens, who beheld the conteſts of men of wit with the ſame pleaſure as they would have viewed the combat of wild beaſts, applauded his victories, and on the ſlighteſt occaſion employed the weapons which he had uſed, it was inferred that his followers only learned of him the love of diſpute and contradiction [t]; and thoſe whoſe cenſure was mildeſt, obſerved that he had abilities ſufficient to inſpire his pupils with the love of wiſdom, but not to induce them to practiſe its precepts [u].

He was rarely preſent at theatrical exhibitions; and, as he highly diſapproved of the extreme licentiouſneſs of the comedies of his time, he drew on himſelf the enmity of their authors [x].

As he ſcarcely ever appeared in the aſſembly of the people, and had neither influence nor any means of buying or ſelling ſuffrages, many merely

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[s] Tim. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 19. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 805.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[t] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 23.

[u] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 725.

[x] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 13.

conſidered him as an idle and uſeleſs man, who continually talked of reformation and virtue.

Theſe numerous prejudices united produced an opinion almoſt general that Socrates was only a ſophiſt, more able and adroit, and more reſpectable, but perhaps not leſs vain, than the others [y]. I have known intelligent Athenians who gave him this name, long after his death [z]; and during his life time ſome authors artfully employed it to revenge themſelves for the contempt with which he had treated them.

Ariſtophanes, Eupolis, and Amiſpias, ridiculed him on the ſtage [a], as they had done Pericles, Alcibiades, and almoſt all thoſe who had been at the head of the government, and as other dramatic writers had ridiculed other philoſophers [b]; for there was then a diviſion between theſe two claſſes of literary men [c].

To expoſe to ridicule the pretended genius of Socrates, and his long meditations, Ariſtophanes repreſents him ſuſpended in a baſket, reſembling his thoughts to the ſubtle and light air which he reſpires [d], and invoking the clouds, the tutelary

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[y] Ameipſ. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 28.
[z] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 287.
[a] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 96. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 28. Senec. de Vit. Beat. cap. 27.
[b] Senec. ibid.
[c] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10, t. ii, p. 607. Argum. Nub. p. 50.
[d] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 229.

deities of the ſophiſts, whoſe voice he imagines that he hears in the midſt of the fogs and darkneſs by which he is ſurrounded [e]. To inflame againſt him the prejudices of the people, he accuſes him of teaching the youth of Athens to contemn the gods, and to deceive men [f].

Ariſtophanes preſented his piece at the competition for the prize: it was received with applauſe, but did not obtain the crown [g]. He again brought it on the ſtage the following year, but with no better ſucceſs. He afterward retouched it, but circumſtances prevented it from being a third time repreſented [h]. Socrates, it is affirmed, was preſent at the firſt performance of this piece, and ſtood up to ſhew himſelf to thoſe ſtrangers who looked for him among the ſpectators [i]. Such attacks could no more ſhake his fortitude than the other events of life [k]. "It is my duty," ſaid he, "to correct my faults, if the ſarcaſms of theſe writers are well founded, and to deſpiſe them if they are not." He was one day told that a certain perſon had ſpoken ill of him. "That is," replied he, "becauſe he has not yet learned to ſpeak well [l].

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[e] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 291 et 329.
[f] Id. ibid. v. 112 et 246.
[g] Id. ibid. v. 525.
[h] Schol. Ariſtoph. p. 51. Sam. Pet. Miſcell. lib. 1, cap. 6. Palmer. Exercit. p. 729.
[i] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 13.
[k] Senec. de Conſt. Sap. cap. 18.
[l] Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 36.

Nearly four-and-twenty years had elapſed from the firſt repreſentation of the Clouds, and the time of perſecution ſeemed to be entirely paſſed, when he was unexpectedly informed that a young man had preſented to the ſecond of the archons [m] an accuſation conceived in the following terms: "Melitus, the ſon of Melitus, of the borough of Pithos, preſents a criminal accuſation againſt Socrates, the ſon of Sophroniſcus, of the borough of Alopece. Socrates offends againſt the laws by not acknowledging our gods, and introducing new divinities under the name of genii; he likewiſe offends againſt the laws by corrupting the youth of Athens: the puniſhment death [n]."

Melitus was a frigid poet, deſtitute of abilities, who wrote ſome tragedies, the remembrance of which will only be preſerved by the pleaſantries of Ariſtophanes, who has ridiculed them [o]. Two accuſers more powerful than himſelf, Anytus and Lycon, made him the inſtrument of their hatred [p]. The latter was one of thoſe public orators who, in the aſſemblies of the ſenate and the people, diſcuſs the intereſts of the ſtate, and direct at pleaſure the opinion of the multitude, which diſpoſes of every

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[m] Plat. in Euthyphr. t. i. p. 2.

[n] Id. Apol. t. i. p. 24. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 708. Phavor. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 40.

[o] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1337. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Μέλιτ.

[p] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 23. Antiſth. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 39.

thing [q]. He it was who managed the proceedings on the accuſation [r].

Conſiderable riches, and ſignal ſervices rendered to the ſtate, placed Anytus among the number of thoſe citizens who poſſeſſed the greateſt influence and authority [s]. He had ſucceſſively filled the firſt offices in the republic [t]. As he had always been a zealous partiſan of the democracy, and had ſuffered perſecution from the thirty tyrants, he was one of thoſe who moſt contributed to their expulſion, and the re-eſtabliſhment of liberty [u].

Anytus had long lived on friendly terms with Socrates; he had even once requeſted him to give ſome inſtructions to his ſon, to whom he had committed the ſuperintendance of a manufacture from which he derived conſiderable profits. But Socrates having repreſented to him that this degrading employment was neither ſuitable to the dignity of the father nor the diſpoſitions of the ſon [x], Anytus, offended at this advice, forbad the young man to have any future intercourſe with his maſter.

Some time after, Socrates, in company with Menon, one of his friends, diſcuſſed the queſtion, whether education can beſtow thoſe qualities of

[q] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 369.
[r] Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 38.
[s] Iſocr. in Callimach. t. ii. p. 495.
[t] Lyſ. in Agorat. p. 261. Id. in Dardan. p. 388.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 468.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 706 et 707.

the mind and heart which Nature has refuſed. Anytus coming up, joined in the converſation. The conduct of his ſon, whoſe education he had neglected, began to give him uneaſineſs. In the courſe of the converſation Socrates obſerved that the children of Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, and Pericles, inſtructed by different maſters in muſic, riding, and the gymnaſtic exerciſes, had arrived at excellence in all theſe accompliſhments, but that they never had poſſeſſed the virtue of their fathers; a certain proof, added he, that the latter could find no preceptor who was able to render their ſons their equals in merit. Anytus, who ranked himſelf with theſe great men, felt, or imagined he perceived, the alluſion; and angrily anſwered—"You ſpeak of others with a licentiouſneſs not to be endured. Attend to what I ſay: be more on your guard; there is no place in the world where it is eaſier to do good or evil to any one than here, and that you cannot but know [y]."

To theſe private grievances were added others which irritated Anytus, and which were common to him with the greater part of the Athenians. It will be neceſſary to explain them, to make known the principal cauſe of the accuſation againſt Socrates [z]:

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[y] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 94.

[z] Obſerv. Manuſcrites de M. Freret ſur la Condamnation de Socrate.

Two factions have conſtantly ſubſiſted at Athens, the partiſans of the ariſtocracy, and thoſe of the democracy. The former, almoſt always overpowered by the latter, were obliged in proſperous times to confine themſelves to ſecret murmurs; but when misfortunes attacked the ſtate, and eſpecially towards the end of the Peloponneſian war, they made ſeveral attempts to deprive the people of their exceſſive power. After the taking of Athens, the Lacedæmonians confided the government of that city to thirty magiſtrates, the greater part of which were choſen from this claſs. At their head was Critias, one of the diſciples of Socrates. In the ſpace of eight months theſe tyrants had committed more cruelties than the people could be accuſed of in the courſe of ſeveral centuries. At length, however, a number of citizens, who were at firſt obliged to fly, united under the conduct of Thraſybulus and Anytus; the oligarchy was deſtroyed, the ancient form of government re-eſtabliſhed, and, to prevent any future diſſenſion, an almoſt general amneſty enacted that paſt offences ſhould be pardoned and buried in oblivion. This decree was publiſhed and ſanctioned by an oath three years before the death of Socrates [z].

The people took the oath, but they remembered

[z] Andocid. de Myſter. p. 12.

with dread that they had been deprived of their authority, and were every moment expoſed to loſe it a ſecond time; that they were ſtill dependent on Lacedæmon, which conſtantly laboured every where to eſtabliſh the oligarchy; that the principal citizens of Athens maintained a correſpondence with the Spartans, and were animated by the ſame ſentiments. And what might not be expected from that cruel faction in other circumſtances, when, in the midſt of the ruins of the republic, ſo much blood had been neceſſary to ſatiate its fury?

The flatterers of the multitude ſtill more increaſed theſe alarms, by repreſenting that certain violent and reſtleſs minds daily declaimed with the moſt offenſive temerity againſt the nature of the popular government; that Socrates, the moſt dangerous of them all, becauſe poſſeſſed of the greateſt abilities, inceſſantly corrupted the youth of Athens by maxims contrary to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution; that he had more than once been heard to ſay that only madmen would confide public employments, and the direction of the ſtate, to perſons choſen from among a great number of citizens by blind chance [a]; that Alcibiades, practiſing the leſſons he had received from his maſter, beſides the other evils with which he had over-

[a] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 712.

whelmed the republic[b], had finally conſpired againſt its liberty; that Critias and Theramenes, two others of his diſciples, had not bluſhed to place themſelves at the head of the thirty tyrants; and that, in a word, it was become abſolutely neceſſary to repreſs a licentiouſneſs, the conſequences of which, as they were difficult to foreſee, it would be impoſſible to avoid.

But what accuſation could be brought againſt Socrates? He could only be charged with ſome diſcourſes concerning which the laws had determined nothing; and which of themſelves did not conſtitute a ſpecific offence, ſince they had not a neceſſary connection with the misfortunes that had befallen the ſtate. Beſides, by making them the only ground of the accuſation, there would be danger that the animoſity of parties ſhould again be excited, and it would be neceſſary to recur to events which the amneſty had decreed ſhould be for ever forgotten.

The plan marked out by Anytus provided againſt theſe inconveniences, and was adapted at once to gratify his private enmity and the vengeance of the popular party. The accuſer, by proſecuting Socrates as an impious perſon, had the greateſt reaſon to expect that he ſhould effect his deſtruction; ſince the people always received with

[b] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 713.

eagerneſs

tagerneſs accuſations of this kind [c], and, confounding Socrates with the other philoſophers, were perſuaded that they could not treat on the nature without denying the exiſtence of the gods [d]. Beſides, the greater part of the judges having formerly been preſent at the repreſentation of the clouds of Ariſtophanes, ſtill retained, with reſpect to Socrates, thoſe diſadvantageous impreſſions which, in a great city, are ſo eaſily received and with ſuch difficulty removed [e].

On the other hand, Melitus, by proſecuting him as the corrupter of youth, might, under favour of ſo vague a charge, incidentally recur, without danger, to facts proper to irritate the judges, and alarm the friends of the popular government.

The ſecret of theſe proceedings has not eſcaped poſterity. About fifty-four years after the death of Socrates, the orator Æſchines, with whom I was extremely intimate, ſaid, before the ſame tribunal which had condemned that philoſopher: "You who adjudged to death the ſophiſt Socrates, convicted of having given leſſons to Critias, one of thoſe thirty tyrants who deſtroyed the democracy [f]."

During the firſt proceedings, Socrates continued quiet. His diſciples, terrified, conjured him to

[c] Plat. in Euthyphr. t. i. p. 3.
[d] Id. Apolog. t. i. p. 18.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 19.
[f] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 287.

take meaſures to diſpel the ſtorm. The celebrated Lyſias drew up for him a pathetic diſcourſe, proper to move the paſſions of the judges. Socrates acknowledged that he found in it proofs of the abilities of the orator, but objected that it did not ſpeak the nervous language which became innocence[g].

One of his friends, named Hermogenes, one day intreated him to employ himſelf in preparing his defence[h]. That, replied Socrates, has been my employment from the hour of my birth; let my whole life undergo an examination, and that ſhall be my defence.

But, replied Hermogenes, the truth requires to be ſupported; and you are not ignorant how many innocent citizens have been deſtroyed, and how many guilty ſaved, before our tribunals, by the power of eloquence. I know it well, anſwered Socrates. I have even twice begun to arrange the materials for my defence; but twice has the genius which directs me checked me in my deſign, and I have acknowledged the wiſdom of his counſel.

Until the preſent moment I have lived the moſt happy of mortals. I have frequently compared my condition to that of other men, and never have I found reaſon to envy the lot of any perſon.

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[g] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1, cap. 54, t. i. p. 182. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 40. Val. Max. lib. 6, cap. 4. Extern. No. 2.

[h] Xenoph. Apol. p. 701. Id. Memor. lib. 4, p. 816.

Ought I to wiſh to live till the infirmities of old age deprive me of the uſe of my ſenſes, and, by enfeebling my mind, condemn me to paſs only uſeleſs or wretched days[i]? The gods, according to every appearance, prepare for me a peaceful death, free from pain, and the only one which I could have wiſhed. My friends, the witneſſes of my departure, ſhall not be ſtruck with horror at the ſight, nor be compelled to commiſerate the weakneſs of humanity; and in my laſt moments I ſhall ſtill have ſufficient ſtrength to raiſe my eyes to them, and give them to underſtand the ſentiments of my heart[k].

Poſterity ſhall decide between my judges and me; and while it ſhall load their memory with opprobrium, it ſhall clear mine from the imputations of my enemies, and do me the juſtice to declare that, far from endeavouring to corrupt my fellow-citizens, I have inceſſantly laboured to render them better men[l].

Such was the diſpoſition of his mind when he appeared before the tribunal of the Heliaſtæ, to which the king-archon had referred the deciſion of the cauſe, and which on this occaſion was compoſed of about five hundred judges[m].

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[i] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 817.
[k] Id. Apol. p. 702.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 706. Id. Memor. lib. 4, p. 817.
[m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 83. Obſerv. Manuſcrites de M. Freret ſur la Condemn. de Socrate.

Melitus and the other accuſers had concerted their attacks at leiſure. In their pleadings, ſupported by every artifice of eloquence [n], they had introduced with conſummate art a variety of circumſtances proper to prejudice the judges. I ſhall ſtate ſome of their allegations, and the anſwers they produced.

Firſt crime of Socrates: *He does not acknowledge the gods of Athens, though, by the laws of Draco, it is the duty of every citizen to honour them* [o].

The anſwer to this charge was eaſy. Socrates frequently offered ſacrifices before his houſe, and often, during the feſtivals, on the public altars, in the view of the whole city, and of Melitus himſelf, had he deigned to give attention to what he ſaw [p]. But as he had inveighed againſt the ſuperſtitious practices that had been introduced into religion [q], and could not endure that hatred and other ſhameful paſſions ſhould be attributed to the gods [r], it was eaſy to render him odious in the eyes of thoſe who are ever ready to entertain ſuſpicions of rational piety.

Melitus added that, under the name of genii, Socrates ſought to introduce novel divinities

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[n] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 17.
[o] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 4, p. 380.
[p] Xenoph. Apol. p. 703. Id. Memor. lib. 1, p. 705 et 708. Theodect. ap. Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 2, cap. 23, t. ii. p. 577.
[q] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 580.
[r] Plat. in Euthyphr. t. i. p. 6.

among the Athenians, and that ſuch audacity merited the puniſhment denounced by the laws. The orator here indulged himſelf in ſeveral pleaſantries concerning that ſpirit whoſe ſecret inſpirations were boaſted by the philoſopher [s].

This voice, anſwered Socrates, is not that of a new divinity, but that of the gods whom we adore. You all acknowledge that they foreſee future events, and are able to make them known to mortals. To ſome they reveal them by the mouth of the Pythia, and to others by various other ſigns: to me they manifeſt them by an interpreter whoſe oracles are preferable to the indications drawn from the flight of birds; for my diſciples will teſtify that I have never foretold to them any thing which has not come to paſs.

At theſe words loud murmurs of diſapprobation were heard among the judges [t]; which Melitus might have increaſed, had he ſeized the opportunity to obſerve that, by countenancing the pretended revelations of Socrates, fanaticiſm muſt ſooner or later be introduced into a country where it was ſo eaſy to work on the imagination; and that many would conſider it as a duty rather to obey the directions of a particular ſpirit, than the commands of the magiſtrate. Melitus does not appear to have perceived this danger [u].

[s] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 31.
[t] Xenoph. Apol. p. 703.
[u] Freret, Obſerv. Manuſcr.

Second crime of Socrates: *He corrupts the youth of Athens.* This charge did not relate to his conduct, but his doctrine. It was alleged, that his disciples only learned from his lessons to disregard the ties of kindred and of friendship [x]. This accusation, founded on some expressions malignantly interpreted, only served to shew the disingenuousness of the prosecutors; but Melitus resumed his advantage, when he insinuated that Socrates was the enemy of the people. He spoke of the intimate connexions of the philosopher with Alcibiades and Critias [y]. It was answered, that they had displayed virtues while under his guidance; that their master had at all times condemned the licentious extravagances of the former; and that, during the tyranny of the latter, he was the only person who dared to oppose his will.

To conclude, said Melitus to the judges, you have been chosen by lot to administer justice, and by the same mode of appointment have filled important offices of magistracy. This method of election, the more essential since by it alone a kind of equality can be preserved among the citizens, Socrates has censured; and the youth of Athens, after his example, learn no longer to respect this fundamental principle of the constitution [z].

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[x] Xenoph. Apol. p. 704. Id. Memor. lib. 4, p. 719.
[y] Id. Memor. lib. 1, p. 713.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 712.

Socrates, when he cenſured an abuſe that committed to chance the fortune of individuals and the fate of the republic, had only ſpoken what the moſt intelligent Athenians [a] thought. Beſides, ſuch diſcourſe, as I have obſerved above, could not be ſuppoſed to ſubject him to the puniſhment of death, which the accuſer had ſtated in his indictment to be due to his crime.

Many of the friends of Socrates openly eſpouſed his cauſe [b], others wrote in his favour [c]; and Melitus muſt have been defeated, had not Anytus and Lycon come to his aſſiſtance [d]. It is remembered, that the former dared to repreſent to the judges that the priſoner either ought not to have been brought before their tribunal, or that they ought to condemn him to death; ſince, ſhould he be acquitted, their children would only be ſtill more ſtrongly attached to his doctrine [e].

Socrates made a defence, that he might obey the laws [f]; but he made it with the firmneſs of innocence and the dignity of virtue. I ſhall here add ſome paſſages from the diſcourſe which his apologiſts, and eſpecially Plato, have put into his mouth, as they will ſerve to pourtray his character.

[a] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 322.
[b] Xenoph. Apol. p. 705.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 701.
[d] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 36.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 29.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 19.

"I appear before this tribunal for the firſt time in my life, though I am more than ſeventy years of age. The forms and ſtyle of the proceedings are entirely new to me, I am about to ſpeak a foreign language, and the only favour which I have to requeſt is, that you would rather be attentive to my arguments than my words; for it is your duty to determine what is juſt, and mine to declare to you the truth [g]."

After having cleared himſelf from the crime of impiety [h], he proceeded to the ſecond head of the accuſation.

"It is alleged that I corrupt the youth of Athens. Let my accuſer produce one of my diſciples whom I have drawn into vice [i]. I ſee many of them in this aſſembly; let them ariſe and depoſe againſt their corrupter [k]. If they are withheld by ſome remains of reſpect for their preceptor, whence is it that their fathers, their brothers, their kinſmen, do not at this moment invoke againſt me the utmoſt ſeverity of the laws? Why has Melitus neglected to avail himſelf of their teſtimony? It is becauſe, far from accuſing me, they have unſolicited haſtened to aſſiſt and vindicate me.

"My death will not be to be imputed to the ca-

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[g] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 17.
[h] Xenoph. Apol. p. 703.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 704.
[k] Plat. Apol. t. i p. 33.

lumnies of Anytus and Melitus[l], but to the hatred of thoſe vain or unjuſt men whoſe ignorance or vices I have unmaſked; a hatred which has already been the deſtruction of very many worthy perſons, and will hereafter occaſion the ruin of many more; for I ought not to flatter myſelf that it will be ſatiated with my puniſhment.

"I have drawn on myſelf this enmity by wiſhing to diſcover the meaning of an anſwer of the Pythia[m], who had declared that I was the wiſeſt of men." Here loud murmurs of indignation were heard among the judges[n]. Socrates continued: "Aſtoniſhed at this oracle, I interrogated, among the different claſſes of citizens, thoſe who enjoyed a diſtinguiſhed reputation; but I every where only found preſumption and hypocriſy. I endeavoured to inſpire them with doubts of their own merits, and I rendered them my irreconcileable enemies. I hence concluded that wiſdom appertained only to the Divinity, and that the oracle, by pointing out me as an example, only intended to ſignify that he is the wiſeſt man who leaſt thinks himſelf wiſe[o]. Should I be cenſured for having dedicated ſo many years to enquiries ſo dangerous, I ſhall reply, that we ought not to think either life or death of importance when it is in

[l] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 28.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 21.
[n] Xenoph. Apol. p. 703.
[o] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 23.

our power to be uſeful to others. I believed myſelf deſtined to inſtruct mankind; I believed I had received ſuch a miſſion from heaven[p]; I had defended, at the hazard of my life, the poſts in which I had been ſtationed by the generals of my country, at Amphipolis, at Potidæa, and at Delium: and it was my duty to maintain, with ſtill more courage, that which the gods have aſſigned me in the midſt of you; nor could I abandon it without diſobeying their orders, and rendering myſelf vile in my own eyes[q].

"I will go ſtill further. Should you this day even offer to acquit me on condition that I ſhould keep ſilence in future[r], I would ſay to you: O my judges! I doubtleſs love and honour you, but it is my duty to obey God rather than you: while I have breath I will never ceaſe to raiſe my voice, as has heretofore been my practice, and ſay to all I ſee: Are you not aſhamed to purſue after riches and honours, while you neglect the treaſures of wiſdom and virtue which would adorn and render perfect your ſouls? I would unceaſingly importune them with entreaties and queſtions; I would compel them to bluſh at their blindneſs, or their falſe virtues; and I would prove to them that they beſtow their higheſt eſteem on goods which merit only contempt.

[p] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 30.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 28.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 29.

"Such are the truths which the Divine Being has commanded me inceſſantly to declare to old and young, to citizens and ſtrangers; and, as my obedience to his orders is to you the greateſt of his benefits, if you put me to death you will reject the gift of God, and you will not afterwards find any perſon animated with the ſame zeal. It is therefore your cauſe which I this day maintain, while I appear to defend my own. For, indeed, Anytus and Melitus may calumniate, may baniſh, may deprive me of life, but never can it be in their power to harm me. They are more to be pitied than I am, ſince they are unjuſt[s].

"To eſcape from their perſecution I have not after the example of others when accuſed, had recourſe to clandeſtine intrigues or open ſolicitations. I have entertained too much reſpect for you to ſeek to move your paſſions by my tears, or by thoſe of my children and friends collected around me[t]. Such ſcenes are indeed proper to excite the emotions of pity on the ſtage, but here the voice of truth ought alone to be heard. You have taken a ſolemn oath to judge according to the laws. Should I induce you to violate that oath, I ſhould indeed be guilty of impiety; but, more firmly perſuaded than my adverſaries of the exiſtence of

[s] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 30.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 34. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 804.

the Divine Being, I, without fear, commit myſelf to his juſtice and to yours[u]."

The judges of Socrates were for the moſt part perſons taken from the dregs of the people, and deſtitute of knowledge or principles. Some of them conſidered his firmneſs as an inſult, and others were offended at the praiſes he beſtowed on himſelf[x]. The majority therefore voted him attainted and convicted; but his enemies only gained their point by a ſmall number of voices[y]. They would have had ſtill fewer, and even have been liable to puniſhment themſelves, had he made the ſmalleſt effort to incline the judges in his favour[z].

According to the laws of Athens, a ſecond trial was neceſſary to decide on the puniſhment[a]. Melitus in his accuſation had ſtated that the crime merited death. Socrates might have choſen between a fine, baniſhment, or perpetual impriſonment. He again addreſſed his judges, and ſaid, that to ſpecify any puniſhment would be to confeſs himſelf guilty of a crime[b]; but that, as he had rendered the greateſt ſervices to the republic, he in reality deſerved to be maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence[c]. At theſe words,

[u] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 35. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 722.
[x] Xenoph. ibid. p. 707.
[y] Plat. ibid. t. i. p. 36.
[z] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 4, p. 804.
[a] Cicer. de Orat. cap. 54, t. i. p. 182.
[b] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 37. Xenoph. Apol. p. 705.
[c] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 37.

eighty of his judges who had before voted in his favour went over to the party of the profecutor [d], and judgment of death by poiſon was pronounced *.

Socrates received his ſentence with the tranquillity of a man who during his whole life had learned to die [e]. In a third diſcourſe he conſoled thoſe of his judges who had acquitted him, by obſerving that no evil can happen to the virtuous man, neither while he lives nor after his death [f]. To thoſe who had accuſed or condemned him, he repreſented that they muſt inceſſantly ſuffer from the remorſe of conſcience [g] and the reproaches of men; that death being to him a gain, he felt no anger againſt them, though he had reaſon to complain of their hatred. He ended with theſe words: "It is time for us to depart, I to die, and you to continue to live; but whether of theſe be the better lot is known only to the Divine Being [h]."

When he left the court to return to priſon, no alteration was diſcernible either in his countenance or his gait. He ſaid to his diſciples, who melted

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[d] Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 42.

* According to Plato (Apol. t. i. p. 38.) Socrates conſented to propoſe a ſlight fine, for which ſome of his diſciples and Plato among others ſhould be ſecurity (Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 41.). Yet Xenophon makes him ſay, that he could not without confeſſing that he was guilty condemn himſelf to the ſmalleſt puniſhment.

[e] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 64 et 67.

[f] Id. Apol. t. i. p. 41.

[g] Xenoph. Apol. p. 705. Plat. Apol. p. 39.

[h] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 40 et 42.

into tears around him: Why do you weep now for the firſt time? Were you ignorant that Nature, when ſhe granted me life, condemned me one day to reſign it? I am in deſpair, replied the youth Apollodorus, to think that you ſhould die innocent. Would you rather chooſe, replied Socrates, with a ſmile, that I ſhould die guilty? He ſaw Anytus paſs by, and ſaid to his friends, How proud is that man of his triumph! He knows not that virtue muſt ever be victorious [i].

The next day after his trial *, the prieſt of Apollo placed a crown on the ſtern of the galley which annually carries the offerings of the Athenians to Delos [k]. From the time of the performance of that ceremony to the return of the veſſel, the law forbids the execution of any ſentence of death.

Socrates paſſed thirty days in priſon [l], ſurrounded by his diſciples, who, to aſſuage their grief, were continually coming to enjoy his company and converſation, believing at each viſit that they ſaw and heard him for the laſt time.

One morning when he awoke, he perceived Crito, one of his friends whom he particularly eſteemed, ſeated near his bed [m]. You come ſooner

[i] Xenoph. Apol. p. 706.

* *Le lendemain de ſon jugement;* but the words of Plato are, τῇ προτεραία τῆς δίκης, *the day before his trial.* T.

[k] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 58.

[l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 816.

[m] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 43.

than ordinary, ſurely, ſaid he to him: is it not yet very early? Yes, anſwered Crito, it is ſcarcely day.

Socrates. I am ſurpriſed the keeper of the priſon would let you in.

Crito. He knows me; I have made him ſome trifling preſents.

Socrates. Have you been here long?

Crito. Some time.

Socrates. Why did you not awake me?

Crito. You were in ſuch a quiet ſleep that I could not prevail on myſelf to diſturb you. I had always admired the calmneſs of your mind, but at this moment it made a ſtill more forcible impreſſion on me.

Socrates. It would be a ſhame indeed if a man of my age ſhould be diſturbed at the approaches of death. But what has induced you to come ſo early?

Crito. Intelligence the moſt afflicting, not to you, but to me and your friends; the moſt cruel and dreadful intelligence.

Socrates. Is the ſhip returned?

Crito. It was ſeen yeſterday evening off Sunium: it will no doubt arrive to-day, and to-morrow will be the day of your death.

Socrates. So let it be, ſince ſuch is the will of the gods *.

* Crito thought the ſhip would arrive on that day at the Piræus; but it did not come till the next, and the death of Socrates was deferred for a day.

Crito then repreſented to him that, unable to bear the idea of his death, he had, with ſome friends, taken a reſolution to facilitate his eſcape from priſon; that the neceſſary meaſures were concerted for the following night; that a ſmall ſum of money would be ſufficient to corrupt the keepers, and ſilence their accuſers; that an honourable retreat might be procured for him in Theſſaly, where he might lead a peaceful life; that he could not refuſe to comply with their requeſt, without failing in his duty to himſelf, to his children, whom he would leave in want, and to his friends, who would be for ever reproached with not having ſacrificed all that they poſſeſſed to preſerve his life [n].

Oh! my dear Crito, replied Socrates, your zeal is not conformable to the principles I have conſtantly profeſſed to follow, and which the moſt cruel torments ſhall never compel me to abandon [o].

It will be firſt proper to reply to what you allege concerning the reproaches which you fear from men. You know that we are not to be guided by the opinion of the greater number, but by the deciſion of thoſe who are able to diſtinguiſh juſtice from injuſtice, and truth from falſehood [p]. It is alſo neceſſary to diſpel the fears with which

[n] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 44.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 46. Xenoph. Apol. p. 705.
[p] Plat. in Crit. p. 48.

you wiſh to inſpire me for my children: they will receive from my friends the ſervices which their generoſity now offers to me[q]. Thus the whole queſtion will be reduced to the enquiry, whether it be conformable to juſtice that I ſhould leave this place without the permiſſion of the Athenians[r]?

Have we not frequently agreed, that in no circumſtances it can be allowable to render injuſtice for injuſtice[s]? Have we not alſo eſtabliſhed it as a principle, that the firſt duty of the citizen is to obey the laws, and that this can be diſpenſed with under no pretext? But would it not be to deprive them of all their power, and abſolutely to annihilate them, were I to prevent their being carried into execution? Had I ſuppoſed I had reaſon to complain of them, I was at liberty, and it was in my power to remove into another country[t]; but I have hitherto borne their yoke with pleaſure, and have a thouſand times experienced the effects of their protection and beneficence; and now, becauſe my enemies have abuſed them to my deſtruction, you wiſh me, that I may revenge myſelf on them, to deſtroy the laws, and conſpire againſt my country, of which they are the ſupport.

I ſhall add, that they had prepared me a reſource. After my firſt trial I might have condemned my-

[q] Plat. in Crit. p. 54.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 48.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 49.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 51.

ſelf to baniſhment only; but I choſe to undergo a ſecond, and I have openly declared that I would prefer death to exile [u]. Shall I then, regardleſs alike of my word and my duty, fly, to expoſe to foreign nations Socrates proſcribed, diſgraced, become the corrupter of the laws, and the enemy of authority, that I may yet live a few wretched and ignominious days? Shall I fly, to perpetuate the remembrance of my weakneſs and my crime in diſtant countries, where I can never dare again to pronounce the words juſtice and virtue without a conſcious bluſh, and drawing on myſelf the moſt cruel reproaches? No, my friend, ceaſe to perſuade me; and ſuffer me to purſue the path which the gods have marked out for me [x].

Two days after this converſation [y], the eleven magiſtrates, whoſe office it is to ſee that criminals are executed according to their ſentence, came early in the morning to the priſon, to have his irons taken off, and give him notice that he was to die that day [z]. Many of his diſciples afterwards entered. There were about twenty of them. They found with him his wife Xanthippe, with the youngeſt of his children in her arms. The moment ſhe perceived them, ſhe exclaimed, with loud cries and ſobbings: Ah! my huſband, your

[u] Plat. in Crit. p. 52.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 54.
[y] Id. in Phæd. p. 59.
[z] Id. ibid.

friends are come to viſit you, and for the laſt time! Socrates having requeſted Crito to cauſe her to be ſent home, ſhe was taken away uttering the moſt doleful lamentations, and tearing her face [a].

Never had the diſciples of Socrates ſeen him diſplay ſuch patience and courage; they could not look on him without being overwhelmed with grief, nor liſten to him without the livelieſt tranſports of pleaſure. In his laſt converſation he ſaid to them, that it was not lawful for any one to deprive himſelf of life; becauſe, as we are placed on earth as ſoldiers in a poſt aſſigned them by their general, we ought not to quit our ſtation without the permiſſion of the gods [b]; that, for himſelf, he was reſigned to their will, and ſighed after the moment which would beſtow on him the happineſs he had endeavoured to merit by his conduct through life [c]. From this diſcourſe paſſing to the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh it by a multitude of proofs, which juſtified his hopes. "And even," ſaid he, "though theſe hopes ſhould be without foundation, beſides that the ſacrifices they required have not prevented me from being the happieſt of men, they remove far from me the bitterneſs of death,

[a] Plat. in Phæd. p. 60.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 62.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 67 et 68.

and diffuſe a pure and delicious joy over my laſt moments[d]."

"Thus," added he, "every man who, renouncing pleaſure, has laboured to adorn his ſoul, not with foreign ornaments but ſuch as are ſuitable to it, as juſtice, temperance, and other virtues, cannot but poſſeſs an unſhaken confidence, and quietly wait the hour of his departure. You will follow me when yours ſhall arrive; mine approaches; and, to uſe the expreſſion of one of our poets, I hear already its voice which calls me."

Crito now aſked him, whether he had no injunctions to lay on them with regard to his children or his affairs. "I have only to repeat," replied Socrates, "the advice I have frequently given you; that you be virtuous. If you follow it, I ſhall not need your promiſes; and if you neglect it, they will be uſeleſs to my family[e]."

He afterward paſſed into a ſmall apartment adjoining to bathe. Crito followed him: his other friends continued in the room he had left, and converſed together on the diſcourſe they had juſt heard, and the ſituation in which they were ſoon to be left by his death. They already conſidered themſelves as orphans deprived of the beſt of fathers, and leſs wept for him than for themſelves. His three children were brought to him, two of

[d] Plat. in Phæd. p. 91 et 114.
[e] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 115.

whom were yet extremely young: he gave ſome orders to the women who came with them, and, after having ſent them away, returned to his friends [f].

A moment after, the keeper of the priſon entered: "Socrates," ſaid he, "I am certain that I ſhall not hear from you thoſe imprecations with which I am uſually loaded by perſons in the ſame ſituation, to whom my office obliges me to give notice that it is time to drink the poiſon. As I have never ſeen any perſon in this place who poſſeſſed ſuch firmneſs of mind and mildneſs of temper as you have always ſhewn, I know well that you are not angry at me, and that you do not attribute to me your misfortunes; you are but too well acquainted with the authors of them: farewell! endeavour to ſubmit to neceſſity." His tears ſcarcely permitted him to conclude what he had to ſay, and he retired to a corner of the priſon that he might ſhed them without reſtraint. "Farewell," ſaid Socrates to him in reply, "I will follow your advice:" and turning towards his friends, How well-behaved and honeſt is that man! ſaid he. Since I have been here he has frequently come to converſe with me.—And now ſee how he weeps.—Crito, he muſt be obeyed. Let the poi-

[f] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 116 et 117.

ſon be brought, if it be ready: if not, let it be mixed as ſoon as poſſible.

Crito, in anſwer, repreſented that the ſun was not yet ſet, and that others, in like circumſtances, had been permitted to defer drinking the poiſon for ſome hours. "They," ſaid Socrates, "had their reaſons for what they did, and I have mine for acting differently [g]."

Crito then gave orders as he had been directed; and when the poiſon was ready a ſervant brought the fatal cup; and Socrates having aſked what he was to do, the man anſwered: "After you have drunk the potion you muſt walk until you find your legs begin to grow heavy, and then lie down on your back." Immediately, without changing countenance, he took the cup, with a ſteady hand, and, after having addreſſed a prayer to the gods, advanced it to his mouth.

In this dreadful moment, terror and diſmay ſeized on all preſent, and involuntary tears ſtreamed from every eye. Some to conceal them threw their mantles over their heads, and others haſtily aroſe that he might not diſcover their agitation; but, when turning their eyes again upon him, they perceived that he had drunk off the poiſon, their grief, too long reſtrained, burſt forth with violence, and their tears and ſobbings re-

[g] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 116.

doubled when they heard the loud lamentations of the youth Apollodorus, who, after having wept the whole day, now made the priſon reſound with the moſt frantic cries[h]. "What are you doing, my friends?" ſaid Socrates, without emotion: "I ſent away the women, that I might not witneſs ſuch weakneſs. Reſume your courage; I have always ſaid that death ought to be accompanied with good omens."

In the mean time he continued to walk till he began to feel a heavineſs in his legs, when he laid down on the bed, and wrapped himſelf in his mantle. The man who had brought and given him the poiſon pointed out to the perſons preſent the ſucceſſive progreſs of its effects. A mortal cold had already frozen his feet and legs, and was ready to invade the heart, when Socrates, raiſing his mantle, ſaid to Crito: "We owe a cock to Æſculapius, forget not to pay the vow *." It ſhall be performed, replied Crito; but have you no other command? He returned no anſwer, but a moment after made a ſlight motion. The ſervant having uncovered him received his laſt look, and Crito cloſed his eyes.

Thus died the moſt religious, the moſt virtuous, and the moſt happy of men[i]; the only man, per-

[h] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 117.

* It was uſual to ſacrifice this bird to Æſculapius. (See Pompeius Feſtus de Signif. Verb. lib. 9, p. 189.)

[i] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 118. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 818.

haps, who, without fear of being convicted of falſehood, might boldly affirm: I have never either in word or deed committed the ſmalleſt injuſtice[k] *.

[k] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 721; lib. 4, p. 805.
* See note at the end of the volume.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Feſtivals and Myſteries of Eleuſis.

I NOW proceed to ſpeak of the moſt important article of the Athenian religion, of thoſe myſteries, the origin of which is loſt in the obſcurity of time, of which the ceremonies inſpire no leſs dread than veneration, and the ſecret of which has never been revealed but by ſome perſons immediately condemned to death and the public execration[1]; for the law is not ſatisfied with depriving them of life and confiſcating their goods, the remembrance of their crime and puniſhment muſt be preſerved on a column expoſed to every eye[m].

Among all the myſteries inſtituted in honour of different divinities, there are none ſo celebrated as thoſe of the goddeſs Ceres; ſhe herſelf, it is ſaid, appointed the ceremonies. While ſhe traverſed the earth in ſearch of Proſerpine, who had been carried off by Pluto, ſhe arrived in the plain of Eleuſis, and, pleaſed at the reception ſhe met with from the inhabitants, beſtowed on them two

[1] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 20.
[m] Andoc. de Myſt. p. 7.

ſignal benefits; the art of agriculture, and the knowledge of the ſacred doctrine [n]. The leſſer myſteries, which ſerve as a preparation to the greater, were inſtituted in favour of Hercules [o].

But let us leave ſuch idle traditions to the vulgar, ſince it is of leſs importance to be acquainted with the authors of this religious ſyſtem than to diſcover its object. It is aſſerted that, wherever it has been introduced by the Athenians, it has diffuſed a ſpirit of union and humanity [p]; that it purifies the ſoul from its ignorance and pollution [q]; that it procures to the initiated the peculiar aid of the gods [r], the means of arriving at the perfection of virtue, the ſerene happineſs of a holy life [s], and the hope of a peaceful death and endleſs felicity [t]. The initiated ſhall occupy a diſtinguiſhed place in the Elyſian Fields [u], they ſhall enjoy a pure light [x], and ſhall live in the boſom of the Divinity [y]; while thoſe who have not participated in the myſ-

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[n] Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 132. Ariſtid. Eleuſ. Orat. t. i. p. 450.

[o] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 5.

[p] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2, cap. 14, t. iii. p. 148. Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 155.

[q] Auguſtin. de Trinit. lib. 4, cap. 10, t. viii. p. 819. Procl. in Rep. Plat. p. 369.

[r] Sopat. Diviſ. Quæſt. t. i. p. 370.

[s] Id. ibid. p. 335.

[t] Iſocr. ibid. Cicer. ibid. Crinag. in Anthol. lib. 1, cap. 28.

[u] Diog. Laert. lib. 6, § 39. Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 371.

[x] Pind. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 3, p. 518. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 155 et 457. Spanh. ibid. p. 304. Sophocl. ap. Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 21.

[y] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 69 et 81.

teries ſhall dwell after death in places of darkneſs and horror [z].

To ſhun ſo fearful an alternative, the Greeks repair from all parts to ſolicit at Eleuſis the pledge of happineſs there offered them. From the moſt tender age the Athenians are admitted to the ceremonies of initiation [a], and thoſe who have never participated in them requeſt to be admitted to them before they die [b]; for the menaces and repreſentations of the puniſhments of another life, which they had before regarded as a ſubject of deriſion, then make the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on their minds, and fill them with fears, which are ſometimes of the moſt abject kind [c].

Yet ſome enlightened perſons do not believe that to be virtuous there is any neceſſity for ſuch an aſſociation. Socrates would never be initiated, and his refuſal gave birth to ſome doubts concerning his religion [d]. Diogenes was once adviſed, in my preſence, to contract this ſacred engagement; but he anſwered: "Patæcion the notorious robber obtained initiation; Epaminondas

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[z] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 69. Id. in Gorg. t. i. p. 493. Id. de Rep. t. ii. p. 363. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 145. Spanh. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 31, p. 876.

[a] Terent. in Phorm. act. 1, ſcen. 1, v. 15. Donat. ibid. Turneb. Adv. lib. 3, cap. 6. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iv. p. 654. Note of Madame Dacier on the paſſage in Terence.

[b] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 374.

[c] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1, p. 330. Zaleuc. ap. Stob. Serm. 42, p. 279.

[d] Lucian. in Demonact. t. ii. p. 380.

and Ageſilaus never ſolicited it; is it poſſible I ſhould believe that the former will enjoy the bliſs of the Elyſian Fields, while the latter ſhall be dragged through the mire of the infernal ſhades[e]?"

All the Greeks may claim to be admitted to initiation into the myſteries[f], but the people of every other nation are excluded by an ancient law[g]. I had been promiſed that this law ſhould be diſpenſed with in my behalf. I had in my favour the title of citizen of Athens, and the powerful authority of examples[h]. But as it would have been neceſſary that I ſhould have confined myſelf to obſerve certain practices, and abſtain from different kinds of eatables, which might have laid me under a diſagreeable reſtraint, I contented myſelf with making ſome reſearches concerning this inſtitution, and obtaining information of various particulars relative to it, which I may make known without fear of incurring the guilt of perjury. I ſhall annex them to the account of the laſt journey that I made to Eleuſis, on occaſion of the greater myſteries, which are annually[i] celebrated there on the 15th of the month Boedromion[k] *.

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[e] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 21. Diog. Laert. lib. 6, § 39.
[f] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 65.
[g] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 19.
[h] Id. ibid.
[i] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 65.
[k] Julian. Orat. 5, p. 173. Petav. de Doct. Temp. lib. 1, cap. 8, t. i. p. 10. Id. in Themiſt. p. 408.

* In the Metonic Cycle, the month Boedromion began on one of the days between the 23d of Auguſt and the 21ſt of September.

The feſtival of the leſſer myſteries is likewiſe annual, and is obſerved ſix months before.

During the celebration of the former, all judicial proſecutions are rigorouſly forbidden, nor may any ſeizure be made on any debtor already condemned by the laws. On the day after the feſtival, the ſenate makes a ſtrict enquiry into the conduct of thoſe who are accuſed of having by acts of violence, or in any other manner, diſturbed the regularity of the ceremonies [l]; and if they are found guilty they are condemned to death, or to pay heavy fines [m]. This ſeverity is perhaps neceſſary to maintain order among ſuch an immenſe multitude as is aſſembled at Eleuſis [n]. In time of war, the Athenians ſend deputies to all parts of Greece, to offer paſs-ports to thoſe who deſire to attend at the feſtivals [o], whether they have received initiation or only come as ſpectators [p].

I departed for Eleuſis, in company with ſome friends, on the 14th of Boedromion, in the 2d year of the 109th Olympiad *. The gate by which we leave Athens to go to Eleuſis is named the

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[l] Andocid. de Myſter. p. 15, &c.
[m] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 631. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 36.
[n] Herodot. lib, 8, cap. 65.
[o] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 416.
[p] Lyſ. in Andocid. p. 106.
* In this year the 1ſt of Boedromion correſponded with the 20th of our month of September, and the 14th of Boedromion with the 4th of October. The feſtival began on the 5th of October in the year 343 before Chriſt.

ſacred gate, and the road which leads thither the ſacred way [q]. The diſtance is about ten ſtadia *. After having croſſed a rather high hill, which is covered with laurel roſes [r], we entered the territory of Eleuſis, and arrived on the banks of two ſmall ſtreams, conſecrated, the one to Ceres, and the other to Proſerpine. I mention them, becauſe the prieſts of the temple only are permitted to fiſh in them, and becauſe their water is ſalt, and made uſe of in the ceremonies of initiation [s].

Farther on, upon the bridge over a river which bears the name of Cephiſus, like that which flows near Athens, we were attacked with groſs jokes and pleaſantries by great numbers of the populace, who were aſſembled there, and who, during the feſtival, there take their ſtation, as in a kind of ambuſcade, to divert themſelves at the expence of thoſe who paſs by, and eſpecially the perſons of moſt eminence in the republic [t]. Such was the reception, as tradition relates, which Ceres, on her arrival at Eleuſis, here met with from an old woman named Iambe [u].

At a ſmall diſtance from the ſea, a large hill ex-

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q Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 27.

* About 3¾ leagues.

r Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 161. Wheler's Journey, book 6, p. 425. Pococke, t. ii. part 2, p. 170.

s Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 38, p. 91. Heſych. in Ῥείτοι. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 161. Wheler, book 6, p. 425.

t Strab. lib. 9, p. 400. Heſych. et Suid. in Τεφυς.

u Apollod. lib. 1, p. 17.

tends into the plain, from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, on the brow and eaſtern extremity of which ſtands the famous temple of Ceres and Proſerpine [x]. Under it is the ſmall town of Eleuſis. In the environs, and on the hill itſelf, are ſeveral ſacred monuments, ſuch as chapels and altars [y]; and rich individuals of Athens have here pleaſant and beautiful villas [z].

The temple, built under the adminiſtration of Pericles, of marble of Pentelicus [a], on the rock itſelf, which was levelled, fronts the eaſt. It is equally vaſt and magnificent. Its length, from north to ſouth, is about 384 feet *; and its breadth about 325 † [b]. The moſt celebrated artiſts were employed in its conſtruction and decoration [c].

Among the miniſters of this temple there are four principal ones [d]. The firſt is the Hierophant: his name ſignifies he who reveals the ſacred things [e]; and his principal function is to initiate into the myſteries. He appears in a diſtinguiſhed

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[x] Manuſcr. Note of Mr. Wood. Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 190.

[y] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 38, p. 93.

[z] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 628.

[a] Wood, Manuſcr. Not. Wheler's Journey, book 6, p. 427.

* About 363 French (or 386 Eng.) feet.

† About 307 French (or 327 Eng.) feet.

[b] Wood, Manuſcr. Note. Wheler, ibid.

[c] Strab. lib. 9, p. 395. Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 7, p. 125. Plut. in Pericl. t. 1. p. 159.

[d] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 13. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 93.

[e] Heſych. in Ἱεροφ.

robe, his head adorned with a diadem, and his hair flowing on his ſhoulders [f]. His age muſt be ſufficiently mature to ſuit the gravity of his miniſtry, and his voice ſo ſonorous that it may be heard with pleaſure [g]. His prieſthood is for life [h]. From the moment he is inveſted with it, he muſt confine himſelf to celibacy; and it is pretended that by rubbing his body with hemlock he is enabled more eaſily to obſerve this law [i].

The office of the ſecond miniſter is to carry the ſacred torch in the ceremonies, and purify thoſe who preſent themſelves for initiation; he like the Hierophant has the right to wear a diadem [k]. The two others are the ſacred herald, and the aſſiſtant at the altar: the office of the former is to command the profane to retire, and to maintain ſilence and ſerious thoughtfulneſs among the initiated; that of the latter is to aſſiſt the others in their ſeveral functions [l].

The reſpect they claim from the ſanctity of their miniſtry is ſtill more heightened by their illuſtrious birth. The Hierophant is choſen from the houſe of the Eumolpidæ [m], one of the moſt

[f] Arrian. in Epict. lib. 3, cap. 21, p. 441. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 202.
[g] Arrian. ibid. Philoſtr. in Vit. Soph. lib. 2, p. 600.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 14, p. 142.
[i] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 13.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 14.
[l] Id. ibid.
[m] Heſych. in Εὐμολπ.

ancient

ancient in Athens; and the ſacred herald from that of the Ceryces, which is a branch of the Eumolpidæ [n]. The two others are choſen from families equally illuſtrious [o]; and all the four have under them ſeveral ſubaltern miniſters, ſuch as interpreters, chanters, and officers whoſe place it is to arrange the proceſſions, and regulate the minutiæ of the different ceremonies [p].

There are alſo at Eleuſis prieſteſſes conſecrated to Ceres and Proſerpine. They may initiate certain perſons [q]; and, on particular days in the year, offer ſacrifices for individuals [r].

The ſecond of the archons preſides at the feſtivals, and is eſpecially charged to maintain order in them, and to ſee that no irregularities are admitted into the celebration of the religious rites. Theſe laſt ſeveral days. The initiated ſometimes interrupt their ſleep to continue their ceremonies. We ſaw them, during the night, leave the encloſure of the temple, walking in ſilence two by two, and each carrying a lighted torch [s]. When they re-entered the ſacred aſylum, they haſtened their pace; and I was informed that this was intended

[n] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 96.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 37, p. 89.
[p] Poll. lib. 1, cap. 1, § 35.
[q] Suid. in Φιλλεῖδ.
[r] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 880. Tayl. Not. ad Demoſth. t. iii. p. 623.
[s] Wheler's Journey, book 6, p. 428. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 166.

to repreſent the wanderings of Ceres and Proſerpine; and that, in their rapid evolutions, they ſhook their torches, and frequently handed them from one to another. The flame which they agitate, it is ſaid, purifies their ſouls, and is the emblem of that light by which they are to be illuminated [t].

On one of the days games were celebrated in honour of the goddeſſes [u]. Famous athletæ, from the different countries of Greece, repaired to the feſtival; and the reward of the conqueror was a meaſure of barley, grown on the neighbouring plain, the inhabitants of which, inſtructed by Ceres, were the firſt who cultivated that ſpecies of corn [x].

On the ſixth day, which is the moſt ſplendid, the prieſts, accompanied by the initiated, carried from Athens to Eleuſis the ſtatue of Iacchus [y], who is ſaid to have been the ſon either of Ceres or of Proſerpine. The god was crowned with myrtle [z], and bore a torch [a]. Nearly thirty thouſand perſons followed [b], and the air reſounded with the name of Iacchus [c]. The proceſſion, regulated by

[t] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 26.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 28.
[x] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 38, p. 93.
[y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 754. Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 27.
[z] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 333.
[a] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 6.
[b] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 65.
[c] Ariſtoph. ibid. v. 319. Heſych. in Ἴακχ.

the ſound of muſical inſtruments and the chanting of hymns [d], was ſometimes interrupted by ſacrifices and dances [e]. The ſtatue was brought into the temple at Eleuſis; and afterward carried back to its own, with the ſame pomp and ceremonies.

Many of thoſe who followed in the proceſſion had yet been only admitted into the leſſer myſteries, celebrated annually in a ſmall temple ſituated near the Iliſſus, at the gates of Athens [f]. There one of the prieſts of the ſecond order is appointed to examine and prepare the candidates [g]. He excludes them if they have been guilty of ſorcery, or of any atrocious crime; and eſpecially if they have committed homicide, even though involuntarily [h]. He enjoins the others frequent expiations; and convincing them of the neceſſity of preferring the light of truth to the darkneſs of error [i], diſſeminates in their minds the ſeeds of the ſacred doctrine [k]. He exhorts them to repreſs very violent paſſion [l]; and, by purity of mind and heart, to merit the ineſtimable benefit of initiation [m].

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[d] Vell. Paterc. lib. 1, cap. 4.
[e] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 210.
[f] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 7. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 5, cap. 17, § 1. Euſtath. in Iliad. 2, p. 361. Steph. Heſych. et Etymol. Magn. in Ἀγρ.
[g] Heſych. in Ὑδρεῶν.
[h] Julian. Orat. 5, p. 173. Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 15.
[i] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1, p. 325; lib. 7, p. 845.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 5, p. 689.
[l] Porphyr. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. p. 142.
[m] Arrian. in Epict. lib. 3, cap. 21, p. 440. Liban. Declam. 19, t. i. p. 495.

Their noviciate ſometimes continues ſeveral years, and muſt laſt at leaſt one entire year [n]. During the time of their trial, the candidates attend the feſtivals of Eleuſis; but remain without the gate of the temple, and anxiouſly wait the hour in which they ſhall be permitted to enter [o].

This hour had at length arrived. The following night was appointed for the ceremonies of initiation into the greater myſteries. As a preparation for them, ſacrifices and prayers were offered for the proſperity of the ſtate [p], by the ſecond archon, attended by four aſſiſtants, choſen by the people [q]. The novices were crowned with myrtle [r].

The robes in which they are initiated are ſuppoſed to acquire ſuch ſanctity by the ceremony, that the greater part continue to wear them till they are quite worn out; and others make them into ſwaddling clothes for their children, or hang them up in the temple [s]. We ſaw the candidates enter the ſacred incloſure; and the next day one of the newly initiated, with whom I was particularly intimate, gave me an account of ſome ceremonies to which he had been witneſs.

We found, ſaid he, the prieſts of the temple habited in their pontifical veſtments. The Hiero-

[n] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 8.
[o] Petav. ad Themiſt. p. 414.
[p] Ariſtot. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἐπιμελ.
[q] Lyſ. in Andocid. p. 105. Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 15.
[r] Schol. Sophocl. in Œdip. Col. v. 713.
[s] Meurſ. ibid. cap. 12.

phant, who on this occaſion repreſents the Creator of the univerſe, was inveſted with ſymbols ſignificatory of the Supreme Power; the torch-bearer, and the aſſiſtant at the altar, with thoſe of the Sun and Moon; and the ſacred herald with thoſe of Mercury [t].

No ſooner had we taken our places than the herald proclaimed: "Far hence be the profane, the impious, and all thoſe whoſe ſouls are polluted with guilt [u]." After this notice, death would be the puniſhment of any perſon who ſhould have the raſhneſs to remain in the aſſembly without having been initiated [x]. The ſecond prieſt cauſed the ſkins of the victims offered in ſacrifice to be ſpread under our feet, and purified us anew [y]. The ritual of initiation was read aloud [z], and hymns were ſung in honour of Ceres.

Soon after a hollow ſound was heard, and the earth ſeemed to groan beneath our feet [a]: we heard thunder; and perceived, by the glare of lightning, phantoms and ſpectres wandering in darkneſs [b], and filling the holy places with howl-

[t] Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 3, cap. 12, p. 117.

[u] Sueton. in Ner. cap. 34. Capitol. in Anton. Philoſ. p. 33. Lamprid. in Alex. Sev. p. 119.

[x] Liv. lib. 31, cap. 14.

[y] Heſych. et Suid. in Διὸς Κῶδ.

[z] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 10.

[a] Virgil. Æneid. lib. 6, v. 255. Claud. de Rapt. Proſerp. lib. 1, v. 7.

[b] Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 12, p. 202. Themiſt. Orat. 20, p. 235. Meurſ. cap. 11. Diſſert. tirées de Warburton, t. i. p. 299.

ings that chilled us with terror, and groans that rent our hearts. Agonizing pain, corroding care, poverty, diſeaſes, and death, preſented themſelves to our eyes in dreadful and funereal forms[c]. The Hierophant explained to us theſe ſeveral emblems, and his animated deſcriptions ſtill added to our inquietude and our fears.

In the mean time, by the aſſiſtance of a feeble light[d], we advanced towards that part of the infernal ſhades where ſouls are purified, till they arrive at the abodes of happineſs. Here, amid a multitude of plaintive cries, we heard the bitter lamentations of thoſe who had deprived themſelves of life[e]. "They are puniſhed," ſaid the Hierophant, "becauſe they have deſerted the poſt which the gods had aſſigned them in this world[f]."

Scarcely had he uttered theſe words, than the brazen gates, opening with a dreadful noiſe, diſcloſed to our view the horrors of Tartarus[g]. We heard the clanking of chains, and the cries of the tortured; and, amid piercing ſhrieks and lamentable groans, diſtinguiſhed at intervals theſe words: "Learn, by our example, to reverence the gods,

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[c] Virg. Æneid. lib. 6, v. 275. Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 4, 167.
[d] Lucian. in Catapl. t. i. p. 643.
[e] Virgil. ibid. v. 434.
[f] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 62. Id. de Leg. lib. 9, t. ii. 870.
[g] Virgil. Æneid. lib. 6, v. 573.

to be juſt and grateful [h]." For hardneſs of heart, neglect of parents, and every ſpecies of ingratitude, there meet their puniſhment; as alſo every crime that eſcapes the vengeance of human laws, or tends to deſtroy the worſhip of the gods [i]. We ſaw the furies, armed with ſcourges, relentleſsly purſuing the guilty

Theſe terrific ſcenes, inceſſantly rendered more animated by the ſonorous and majeſtic voice of the Hierophant, who appeared to be the miniſter of divine vengeance, filled us with dread; and ſcarcely could we recover from our apprehenſions, when we were led into delightful groves and ſmiling meadows, the abodes of happineſs, and the image of the Elyſian Fields, illuminated by a ſerene and pure light, and where harmonious voices uttered the moſt enchanting ſounds [l]. Thence we were brought into the ſanctuary, where we beheld the ſtatue of the goddeſs reſplendent with light, and adorned with all its richeſt ornaments [m]. Here our trials were to end, and here we ſaw and heard things which it is not permitted to reveal *. I ſhall only add that, in the intoxication of a holy

[h] Virgil. Æneid. lib. 6, v. 620. Pind. Pyth. 2, v. 640.
[i] Virg. ibid. v. 608. Differt. tirées de Warburton, t. i. p. 332.
[k] Virgil. ibid. Lucian. in Catapl. t. i. p. 644.
[l] Virg. ibid. v. 638. Stob. Serm. 119. p. 604.
[m] Themiſt. Orat. 20, p. 235.
* See note at the end of the volume.

joy, we ſang hymns in which we congratulated ourſelves on our happineſs [n] *.

Such was the account I received from my newly initiated friend: I learned from another a circumſtance which he had omitted. On one of the days of the feſtival, the Hierophant uncovered the myſtic baſkets, which are carried in the proceſſions, and are the objects of public veneration. They contain the ſacred ſymbols, which may not be ſeen by the profane; but which, however, are only cakes of different ſhapes, ſome grains of ſalt, and other things [o], relative either to the hiſtory of Ceres, or to the doctrines taught in the myſteries. The initiated, after having removed them from one baſket into another, affirm that they have faſted and drank Ciceon [p] †.

Among thoſe who have not been initiated, I have frequently heard men of ſenſe and learning communicate to each other their doubts and opinions concerning the doctrines taught in the myſteries of Ceres. Do they only contain, ſaid they, the hiſtory of nature and its revolutions [q]; or are they ſolely intended to ſhew that, by means of

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[n] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 451.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[o] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 19.

[p] Id. ibid. p. 18. Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 10.

† A kind of drink, or rather broth, which was offered to Ceres (Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 17. Athen. lib. 11, cap. 12, p. 492. Caſaub. ibid. p. 512. Turneb. Adv. lib. 12, cap. 8).

[q] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1, cap. 42, t. ii. p. 433.

laws and agriculture [r], man has been advanced from the ſtate of barbariſm to that of civilized life? But why ſhould ideas like theſe be covered with the veil of ſecreſy? A diſciple of Plato modeſtly propoſed a conjecture which I ſhall here give my readers *.

It appears undeniable, ſaid he, that the neceſſity of the rewards and puniſhments which await us after death was inculcated in the myſteries, and that the initiated were preſented with a repreſentation of the different deſtinies prepared for men in this and the other world [s]. It alſo appears certain that they were taught by the Hierophant that, among that great number of divinities which are adored by the multitude, ſome are pure genii, who are the miniſters of the will of the Supreme Being, and regulate, ſubſervient to his commands, all the motions of the univerſe [t]; while others have only been mere mortals, whoſe tombs are ſtill to be ſeen in different parts of Greece [u].

Is it not, therefore, natural to imagine, that the inſtitutors of the myſteries, wiſhing to diffuſe a

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[r] Varr. ap. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 7, cap. 20, t. vii. p. 177.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[s] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 3, t. i. p. 501; lib. 8, p. 777. Diſſert. tirées de Warburton t. i. p. 175.

[t] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 202. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 417.

[u] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1, cap. 13, t. ii. p. 243. Id. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2, cap. 24, t. ii. p. 454. Lactant. Divin. Inſtit. lib. 5, cap. 20.

more juſt idea of the Supreme Being [x], earneſtly endeavoured to eſtabliſh a doctrine of which traces more or leſs manifeſt are found in the opinions and ceremonies of almoſt all nations—that there is one God, who is the author and end of all things? and this doctrine is, in my opinion, the momentous ſecret revealed to the initiated.

The eſtabliſhment of this religious aſſociation was doubtleſs favoured by political views. Polytheiſm had become general, when it was perceived what fatal conſequences reſulted to morality from a worſhip, the objects of which were only multiplied to authorize every ſpecies of injuſtice and vice; but this worſhip was equally agreeable to the people from its antiquity and even from its imperfections. Far, therefore, from fruitleſsly attempting to aboliſh it, endeavours were made by the legiſlator to counterbalance it by a more pure religion, which ſhould repair the injuries done to ſociety by polytheiſm. As the multitude are more eaſily reſtrained by the laws than by manners, it was thought they might be abandoned to ſuperſtitions of which it would be eaſy to prevent the abuſe; but, as the more enlightened citizens are influenced more by manners than by the laws, it was judged proper to communicate to them a doctrine adapted to render them virtuous.

[x] Etymol. Magn. in Τελεῖ.

You are now able to conceive why the gods are permitted to be introduced in ludicrous ſituations on the ſtage of Athens. The magiſtrates, delivered from the falſe ideas of polytheiſm, attempt not to repreſs a liberty which can do no injury to the people, and which contributes to their amuſement.

You likewiſe underſtand how two religions ſo oppoſite in their doctrines have ſubſiſted for ſo long a time in the ſame place, without diſturbance or rivalry; it is becauſe, though their doctrines are different, their language is the ſame; and truth ſhews that reſpect to error which it may be expected to require.

The myſteries externally have the appearance of the religious worſhip adopted by the people. The hymns which are ſung in public, and the greater part of the ceremonies, preſent to us ſeveral circumſtances of the rape of Proſerpine, the purſuit of Ceres, and her arrival and ſtay at Eleuſis: the environs of that town are covered with monuments erected in honour of the goddeſs; and the ſtone on which it is pretended ſhe ſat down when exhauſted with fatigue, is ſtill ſhewn[y]. Thus, on the one hand, perſons of little knowledge and diſcernment ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded by appearances that favour their prejudices; and, on the other, the initiated, penetrating to the ſpirit of the myſteries,

[y] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 3.

believe they may rely on the purity of their intentions.

Whatever foundation there may be for the conjecture I have here given, initiation is at preſent little more than an idle ceremony: thoſe who receive it are not more virtuous than others; they every day violate the vow they have made to abſtain from fowl, fiſh, pomegranates, beans, and many other kinds of pulſe and fruits [z]. Many among them have contracted this ſacred engagement in a manner by no means ſuitable to its object; for, almoſt in our time, the government, to retrieve the exhauſted ſtate of the finances, has been known to grant permiſſion that the right of participating in the myſteries ſhould be purchaſed [a], and women of diſſolute life have long been admitted to initiation [b]: a time therefore muſt arrive when the moſt ſacred of aſſociations will be entirely corrupted and diſfigured [c].

[z] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 4, p. 353. Julian. Orat. 5, p. 173.
[a] Apſin. de Art. Rhetor. p. 691.
[b] Iſæ. Orat. de Hæred. Philoctem. p. 61. Demoſth. in Neær. p. 862.
[c] Clem. Alex. in Protrep. p. 19.

NOTES.

CHAP. LIX. PAGE 11.

On the Produce of an Athenian Farm.

DEMOSTHENES (*a*) mentions a private perſon of Athens, named Phœnippus, who having obtained the quantity of barley and wine ſtated in the text, ſold each medimnus of barley for eighteen drachmas (16 liv. 4 ſols, or 13s. 6d.), and each metretes of wine for twelve drachmas (10 liv. 16 ſols, or 9s.); but as he afterward (*b*) ſays that theſe prices, perhaps on account of ſome ſcarcity, were triple the ordinary value of the commodities, it follows that, in his time, the common price of the medimnus of barley was ſix drachmas, and that of the metretes of wine four drachmas. A thouſand medimni of barley (a little more than four thouſand buſhels) were therefore worth ſix thouſand drachmas (5400 liv. or 225 l.); and eight hundred metretæ of wine, three thouſand two hundred drachmas (2880 liv. or 120 l.) : total, 8280 liv. or 345 l.

(*a*) Demoſth. in Phœnip. p. 1025.
(*b*) Id. ibid. p. 1027.

Phœnippus had beſides ſix beaſts of burden, which were continually employed in carrying to the city wood and other kinds of materials (*c*), and which brought him daily twelve drachmas (10 liv. 16 ſols, or 9s.). The feſtivals, bad weather, or work that might not be neglected, frequently interrupted this little traffic; but if we ſuppoſe that it only took place for two hundred days in the year, we ſhall find that Phœnippus annually received a profit of 2160 liv. (90 l.); which, added to the 8280 livres, gives 10440 livres (435 l.) for the produce of a farm little more than a league and a half in circuit.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 14.

On the Queen Bee.

IT appears by the paſſage of Xenophon quoted in the text, that that author conſidered the principal bee as a female. Naturaliſts afterwards were divided on this ſubject; ſome imagining that all the bees were females, and all the drones males; and others maintaining the contrary. Ariſtotle, who refutes their opinions, admitted in each hive a claſs of kings which continued their ſpecies; he confeſſes, however, that ſufficient obſervations to determine any thing with certainty had not been made (*d*): theſe obſervations have been ſince made, and naturaliſts have returned to the opinion which I attribute to Xenophon.

(*c*) Demoſth. in Phœnip. p. 1023.
(*d*) Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 5, cap. 21, t. i. p. 852. Id. de Gener. Anim. lib. 3, cap. 10, p. 1110.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 22.

On Melons.

FROM ſome expreſſions to be found in the ancient writers, there ſeems reaſon to ſuppoſe that, at the time of which I here ſpeak, the Greeks were acquainted with melons, and conſidered them as a ſpecies of cucumber; but theſe expreſſions not being ſufficiently clear, I ſhall content myſelf with referring my readers to the modern critics, as Jul. Scalig. in Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 7, cap. 3, p. 741; Bod. a Stapel. in cap. 4. ejuſd. libr. p. 782, and ſeveral others.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 43.

On the Soul of the World.

THE commentators on Plato, both ancient and modern, are divided concerning the nature of the ſoul of the world. According to ſome, Plato ſuppoſed that there had eternally exiſted in chaos a vital force, or groſs ſoul, which irregularly agitated matter, from which it was diſtinct; and that, conſequently, the ſoul of the world was compoſed of the divine eſſence, of matter, and of the vicious principle from all eternity united to matter. *Ex divinæ naturæ portione quâdam, et ex re quâdam aliâ diſtinctâ a Deo, et cum materiâ ſociatâ* (e).

Others, to exculpate Plato from the cenſure of having

(e) Moſhem. in Cudworth. t. i. cap. 4, § 13, p. 310.

admitted two eternal principles, the one the author of good and the other of evil, have affirmed that, according to that philoſopher, the diſorderly motion of chaos did not proceed from a particular ſoul, but was inherent in matter. To this it has been objected, that in his Phædrus, and in his treatiſe on laws, he has expreſsly ſaid that all motion ſuppoſes a ſoul by which it is produced. It will, no doubt, be replied, that he here ſpeaks of a regular and productive motion; but that of the chaos, being diſorderly and ſterile, was not directed by an intelligent principle: and thus Plato does not contradict himſelf (*f*). Thoſe who wiſh to ſee this ſubject elucidated, may conſult, among other writers, Cudw. cap. 4, § 13. Moſhem. ibid. not. k. Bruck, t. i. p. 684 et 704.

CHAP. LX. PAGE 53.

On the preciſe Time of the Expedition of Dion.

THE note which I here add may be conſidered as the continuation of that which I have given above, on the voyages of Plato, and which refers to Chap. XXXIII. of this work.

Plutarch obſerves that, when Dion ſet ſail from Zacynthus for Sicily, the troops were alarmed by an eclipſe of the moon; and that this expedition was undertaken in the middle of ſummer. Dion was twelve days in his paſſage to the coaſt of Sicily; and on the thirteenth, attempting to double the Promontory of Pachynum, he met with a violent tempeſt; for, adds the hiſtorian, it was the time of

(*f*) Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 688.

the

the rising of Arcturus (*g*). But we know that in that age Arcturus began to appear in Sicily about the middle of our month of September. Thus, according to Plutarch, Dion departed from Zacynthus towards the middle of the month of August.

On the other hand, Diodorus Siculus (*h*) places the expedition of Dion in the archonship of Agathocles, who entered on his office in the beginning of the 4th year of the 105th Olympiad, and consequently on the 27th of June of the year 357 before Christ (*i*).

But, according to the calculations which M. De la Lande has had the goodness to communicate to me, there was an eclipse of the moon visible at Zacynthus on the 9th of August of the year 357 before Christ, which must be that mentioned by Plutarch. There are few dates in Chronology ascertained with equal certainty. It will be proper to add that M. Pingré has calculated the middle of this eclipse to have been at three quarters after six in the evening. See the *Chronology of Eclipses* in Vol. XLII. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, Hist. p. 130.

CHAP LXII. PAGE 224.

On Aristotle's Treatise on the Republic.

ARISTOTLE has observed in this work nearly the same order as in those which he has written on animals (*k*). After laying down some general principles, he treats of

(*g*) Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 968.
(*h*) Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 413.
(*i*) Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iv. p. 20. Dodw. de Cycl. p. 719.
(*k*) Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 366.

the different forms of governments, of their conſtituent parts, their variations, the cauſes of their decline, the means by which they are maintained, &c. &c. He diſcuſſes all theſe points, inceſſantly comparing various conſtitutions with each other, to ſhew their reſemblance and difference, and continually ſupporting his reflections by examples. If I had confined myſelf to follow his method, I muſt have abridged, book by book, and chapter by chapter, a work which is itſelf only an extract; but as I wiſhed merely to give an idea of the doctrine of the author, I have endeavoured, with much more labour, to bring together the ideas of the ſame kind ſcattered through the work, and relative, ſome to the difference in the forms of government, and others to the beſt of thoſe forms. Another reaſon determined me to adopt this plan: the treatiſe on the republic, ſuch as we now have it, is divided into ſeveral books; and ſome eminent critics have aſſerted that this diviſion was not made by the author, and that the original order of theſe books has been changed by the copyiſts (*l*).

SAME CHAP. PAGE 225.

On the Titles of King and Tyrant.

XENOPHON makes the ſame diſtinction between a king and a tyrant as Ariſtotle. The former, ſays he, is a prince who governs according to the laws, and with the conſent of his people; whereas the government of the latter is arbitrary, deteſted by the people, and not founded

(*l*) Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. ii. p. 157.

on the laws (*m*). See alſo what Plato (*n*), Ariſtippus (*o*), and others have obſerved on this ſubject.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 276.

On a Law of the Locrians.

DEMOSTHENES (*p*) tells us that, during two centuries, no alteration was made in the laws of this people. According to one of theſe laws, he who ſtruck out the eye of another was to loſe one of his own. A Locrian having threatened to ſtrike out the eye of a perſon who had but one, the latter repreſented that his enemy, though he ſhould undergo the puniſhment of retaliation, inflicted by the law, would by no means ſuffer equally with himſelf. It was therefore reſolved that, in ſuch a caſe, the offender ſhould loſe both his eyes.

CHAP. LXVII. PAGE 424.

On the Irony of Socrates.

I HAVE ſaid but little of the irony of Socrates, becauſe I am perſuaded he did not make ſo frequent and ſevere a uſe of this figure as Plato has repreſented. To be convinced of this, we need only read the converſations of Socrates, as related by Xenophon, and thoſe which Plato has attributed to him. In the former, Socrates expreſſes himſelf with a gravity which we frequently regret not to find

(*m*) Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 813.
(*n*) Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 276.
(*o*) Ariſtip. ap. Stob. ſerm. 48, p. 344.
(*p*) Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 795.

in the latter. Both the diſciples have introduced their maſter diſputing with the ſophiſt Hippias (*q*); and if we compare the dialogues they have given us, we ſhall diſtinctly perceive the difference of which I ſpeak. Xenophon however was preſent at that which he has tranſmitted to us.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 456.

On the Regret which it has been pretended the Athenians teſtified after the Death of Socrates.

SOME authors, poſterior to Socrates by ſeveral centuries, have aſſured us that, immediately after his death, the Athenians, afflicted by a contagious malady, were convinced of the injuſtice they had committed (*r*); that they erected a ſtatue to him; that, without deigning to hear his accuſers, they put to death Melitus, and baniſhed the others (*s*); and that Anytus was ſtoned at Heraclea, where his tomb was to be ſeen a long time after (*t*). Others have related that the accuſers of Socrates, unable to endure the public deteſtation, hanged themſelves in deſpair (*u*). But it is impoſſible to reconcile theſe traditions with the total ſilence of Xenophon and Plato, who did not die till long after their maſter, and who nowhere ſpeak either of the repentance of the Athenians or the puniſhment of his accuſers. Xenophon, who ſurvived Anytus, poſitively aſſures us that the memory of the latter was not reſpected

(*q*) Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4, p. 804. Plat. t. i. p. 363, t. iii. p. 281.
(*r*) Argum. in Buſir. Iſocr. t. ii. p. 149.
(*s*) Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 266. Diog. Laert. lib. 2, § 43. Menag. ibid.
(*t*) Themiſt. Orat. 20, p. 239.
(*u*) Plut. de Invid. t. ii. p. 538.

among the Athenians, either on account of the irregularities of his ſon, whoſe education he had neglected, or the folly and impropriety of his own conduct (*x*). This paſſage, if I am not miſtaken, incontrovertibly proves that the people of Athens never revenged on Anytus the death of Socrates.

CHAP. LXVIII. PAGE 471.

On the Place which, at Eleuſis, was the Scene both of the Ceremonies and Spectacles.

ON this queſtion I am only able to give ſome ſlight elucidations.

Ancient authors inform us that the feſtivals of Ceres ſometimes brought to Eleuſis thirty thouſand of the initiated (*y*), without including thoſe who only came from motives of curioſity. Theſe were not preſent at all the ceremonies. To the more ſecret, no doubt, were only admitted the ſmall number of novices who every year received the laſt ſeal of initiation, and ſome of thoſe who had received it long before.

The temple, which is one of the largeſt in Greece (*z*), was built in the middle of a court incloſed by a wall, 360 feet in length from north to ſouth, and 301 broad from eaſt to weſt (*a*) *. There, if I am not miſtaken, was it that the myſtæ, or initiated, with torches in their hands, performed their dances and evolutions.

(*x*) Xenoph. Apol. p. 707.
(*y*) Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 65.
(*z*) Strab. lib. 9, p. 395. Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 7, p. 125.
(*a*) Wood Note MSS. Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 42, p. 190.
* The Engliſh meaſures in Chandler's Travels are 387 feet in length, and 328 in breadth. T.

Behind the temple, on the weſtern ſide, is ſtill to be ſeen a terrace, cut in the rock itſelf, and raiſed eight or nine feet above the floor of the temple. Its length is about 270 feet, and its breadth in ſome places 44. At the northern end are to be ſeen the remains of a chapel, to go up into which there were ſeveral ſteps (*b*).

I conjecture that on this terrace was exhibited the ſcenery of which I have ſpoken in this chapter; that it was divided lengthwiſe into three great galleries, the two firſt of which repreſented the region of trial, and that of the infernal ſhades; and the third, covered with earth, preſented groves and meadows to the view of the initiated, who from thence went up into the chapel, where their eyes were dazzled by the ſplendour of the ſtatue of the goddeſs.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 472.

On certain Words uſed in the Myſteries of Ceres.

MEURSIUS (*c*) has ſaid that the aſſembly was diſmiſſed by theſe two words, *konx ompax*. Heſychius (*d*), who has tranſmitted them to us, only ſays that they were an acclamation to the initiated. I have not mentioned them, becauſe I do not know whether they were pronounced at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of the ceremony.

Le Clerc tells us that they ſignified, *watch and abſtain from evil*. Inſtead of directly attacking this interpretation, I ſhall content myſelf with preſenting to the reader the

(*b*) Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 42, p. 190. Note of M. Foucherot.
(*c*) Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 11.
(*d*) Heſych. in Κογξ.

anſwer which I wrote, in the year 1766, to my learned friend M. Larcher, who had done me the honour to requeſt my opinion on this expreſſion (*e*).

"It is manifeſt that the two words κογξ ομπαξ are not "Greek; but in what language ought we to ſeek them? "I ſhould incline to think they are Egyptian, becauſe the "Eleuſinian myſteries appear to me to have been brought "from Egypt. To arrive at their true meaning, it would "be neceſſary, firſt, that we ſhould be better acquainted "with the ancient Egyptian language, of which we have "only ſome ſmall remains in the Coptic; and, ſecondly, "that the words in queſtion, by paſſing from one language "into another, ſhould not have ſuffered in their pronun-"ciation; nor, by having been tranſcribed by a multitude "of copyiſts, undergone any alteration from their original "orthography.

"We may indeed have recourſe to the Phœnician "tongue, which had a conſiderable affinity with the Egyp-"tian. This has been done by Le Clerc, who, after the "example of Bochart, found the explanation of every "thing in the Phœnician language. But ten different "meanings of theſe two words might be given, all equally "probable, that is to ſay, all equally uncertain. There is "nothing which may more eaſily be accommodated to the "wiſhes of the etymologiſt than the oriental languages, "and this it is which has led aſtray the greater part of "thoſe who have addicted themſelves to that ſtudy.

"You ſee, Sir, how far I am from being able to ſay any "thing poſitive on the ſubject, and how little I deſerve "the honour you have done me in requeſting my opinion, "ſince I can only anſwer you by a confeſſion of my igno-"rance."

(*e*) Supplement à la Philoſophie de l'Hiſtoire, p. 373.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 472.

WARBURTON has endeavoured to prove that the ſecret of the myſteries was no other than the doctrine of the unity of God; and, in ſupport of his opinion, has produced a poetical fragment, cited by ſeveral fathers of the church, and known by the name of the Palinodia of Orpheus. This fragment begins by an expreſſion uſed in the myſteries—*Far hence, ye profane.* It declares that there is only one God, who exiſts from himſelf, is the ſource of all exiſtence, and inviſible to every eye, though to him all things are viſible (*f*).

If it were proved that the hierophant taught this doctrine to the initiated, no doubt would any longer remain concerning the real object of the myſteries; but this queſtion is attended with many difficulties.

Whether the verſes above mentioned were written by Orpheus or ſome other author, is of little conſequence; but it is of importance to know whether the date of them be antecedent to Chriſtianity; and whether they were really recited in the ceremonies of initiation.

1. Euſebius has cited them after a Jew named Ariſtobulus, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philopator (*g*), king of Egypt, that is to ſay, about the year 200 before Chriſt; but the reading which he has preſerved differs eſſentially from that found in the works of St. Juſtin (*h*). The latter announces one Supreme Being, who beholds and who is the author of all things, and to whom the name of Jupiter is given. The reading in Euſebius con-

(*f*) Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 64.
(*g*) Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 13, cap. 12, p. 664.
(*h*) Juſtin. Exhort. ad Græc. p. 18; et de Monarch. p. 37.

tains the ſame profeſſion of faith, with ſome difference in the expreſſions: but in it mention is made of Moſes and Abraham; which has induced ſome learned critics to conclude that theſe verſes were fabricated, or at leaſt interpolated, by Ariſtobulus, or ſome other Jew (*i*). But if we reject the interpolation, and prefer the reading in St. Juſtin, all we ſhall be able to collect from it is, that the author of theſe verſes, when ſpeaking of a Supreme Being, has expreſſed himſelf in nearly the ſame manner as many ancient writers. It is eſpecially to be remarked that the principal articles of the doctrine contained in the Palinodia are found in the hymn of Cleanthes (*k*), the contemporary of Ariſtobulus; and in the poem of Aratus (*l*), who lived at the ſame time, and who appears to have been quoted by St. Paul (*m*).

2. Was the Palinodia of Orpheus ſung in the ceremonies of initiation? Tatian and Athenagoras (*n*) ſeem indeed to aſſociate it with the myſteries, but they only produce it in oppoſition to the abſurdities of polytheiſm. Can we ſuppoſe it probable that theſe two authors, and the other fathers of the church, when they were endeavouring to prove that the unity of the Deity had always been known to the gentiles, would have neglected to inform us that ſuch a profeſſion of faith was made in the ceremonies of initiation at Eleuſis?

By depriving Warburton of this powerful argument, I do not mean to attack his opinion concerning the ſecret doctrine of the myſteries, which always appeared to me

(*i*) Eſchenb. de Poeſ. Orph. p. 148. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. ii. p. 281. Cudw. Syſt. Intell. cap. 4, § 17, p. 445. Moſhem. ibid.
(*k*) Fabric. ibid. t. ii. p. 397.
(*l*) Arat. Phænom. v. 5. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 13, cap. 12, p. 666.
(*m*) Acts, xvii. 28.
(*n*) Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 33. Athenag. Legat. pro Chriſtian. in init.

very probable. In fact, it is not easy to suppose that a religious society which destroyed the objects of the popular worship, which taught the doctrine of rewards and punishments in another life, and which required from its members so many preparations and prayers, and enjoined them abstinence from so many things, joined with the greatest purity of heart, had no other intention than to conceal beneath a thick veil the ancient traditions concerning the formation of the world, the operations of Nature, the origin of arts, and other objects which could only have a slight influence on manners.

It may perhaps be said that the mysteries were confined to teaching the doctrine of the metempsychosis. But this doctrine, which the philosophers did not fear to explain in their writings, supposed a tribunal which, after death, assigned to the souls of men the good or evil destinies which were to be their reward or punishment.

I will add one reflection more. According to Eusebius (*o*), the hierophant appeared as the Demiourgos, that is to say, the author of the universe. Three priests bore the symbols of the Sun, the Moon, and Mercury; and perhaps some inferior ministers represented the four other planets. However this may be, do we not here perceive the Demiourgos bringing forth the universe from chaos? and is not this the image of the formation of the world, as Plato has described it in his Timæus?

The opinion of Warburton is extremely ingenious, and supported with much judgment and learning; however, as it is liable to great difficulties, I thought it best to offer it as a mere conjecture.

(*o*) Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 3, cap. 12, p. 117.

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